ZERO TOLERANCE SCHOOL-BASED POLICIES: THE EFFECT OF EARLY PUNISHMENT ON SCHOOL FEELINGS AND LATER PUNISHMENT

A Dissertation

by

CRYSTAL MURRY

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Chair of Committee,	Joe R. Feagin
Co-Chair of Committee,	Heili Pals
Committee Members,	Pat R. Goldsmith
	William A. McIntosh
Head of Department,	Jane Sell

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ABSTRACT

Punishment in its varying forms and application is an integral part of American culture. As such, school punishment has received considerable attention from social scientists and legal scholars because classroom misbehavior has been met with rigid disciplinary measures. Some school-based zero tolerance policies and the use of teacher discretion have led to selective enforcement of said policies with disproportionate effects. Minority youths are disproportionately more likely than their white counterparts to receive excessively strict school-based sanctions. The purpose of this dissertation is to expound on prior studies by analyzing the effects of race and gender on punishment outcomes in school and subsequently how early punishment influences feelings about school and later punishment.

To explore these effects, I utilize parental data of participants from the first generation and three waves of children's data from the second generation of the Howard Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study. I employ a series of regression models to test the relationship between race, gender, negative school feelings, in-school punishment, and later punishment. I also test the mediating effect of early in-school punishment on later in-school punishment.

The results show that there is a significant relationship between race, gender, in-school punishment, and convictions in young adulthood. The data reveal that early in-school punishment does have an effect on later in-school punishment. This relationship of the race effect is mediated by early in-school punishment. I also find that early in-school punishment leads to more negative feelings toward school for non-minority students. Thus, feelings aside, I conclude that there is little difference between black boys and girls and in-school punishment

and that the disparity for later in-school punishment is due to the disparity in early school punishment. The significance of these findings are also discussed.

DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to my family.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

LIST OF FIGURES

Page

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The sociology of punishment is best understood as an artifact of social life and byproduct of a social institution (Colvin 1997; Garland 1991; Garland 1990). It examines the relationship between punishment, society, and penal institutions (Primoratz 1989). It defines criminality within a given society, illustrates how crime is sanctioned, and explains whether punishment indeed fits the crime (Mitchell 1918). According to Lorca (2016), punishment is a natural, reactive response to a norm violation. As such, it is thought that we punish in an effort to preserve peace and order within society. Rusche and Kirchheimer (2009) postulate that punishment does not simply result from crime, but rather, punishment is best understood as a social factor and there is a directional relationship between punishment, imprisonment, and the labor market. Garland (1990) asserts that punishment is a response to a violation of established moral, social, cultural, and legal norms. It is an instrument of social control and class oppression, an obligation, an established pattern of conduct, and a mode of expression. Thus, he posits that punishment by virtue of its measures is not defined by a single definition, but rather it exists for a variety of purposes, though mainly as a tool of socialization and integration. Western (2006) posits that punishment in its application is often unequal, especially for people of color. Similarly, Wright (1993) argues that there seems to be a semblance of two separate criminal justice systems within the United States: one for the affluent and white and another for the working class and racial minorities.

Furthermore, aside from class disparities, research consistently shows that race and gender influence punishment outcomes from virtually every aspect of the criminal justice system (Mann 1993). As policy makers, criminal justice practitioners, sociologists, and academic scholars alike, if it is our goal to truly understand the interworkings of the criminal justice system, then it is imperative that we seek to understand the intersection of race, gender, and the distribution of punishment. The criminological discourse focuses almost exclusively on race and masculinity (Cullen & Agnew 2006; Markowitz & Jones-Brown 2000) and there is a need for more studies exploring how women and girls are also impacted in the criminal justice system (Annamma, Anyon, Joseph, Farrar, Greer, Downing, and Simmons 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015; Caton 2012). Understanding how race and gender matter in the context of schools and feelings toward school may improve our knowledge of crime, law, deviance, and criminal justice issues. More importantly, gaining this type of understanding may assist in creating more effective school-based policies and creating an impartial justice system.

Previous studies on zero tolerance school-based policies often include reports and compilations of data about where students attend schools, student infractions and/or citations, out-of-school suspensions, arrests, school policies, and disparities in punishment (Hall & Karanxha 2012; Fowler et al. 2010; Murry, 2014; Richart et al. 2003). Zero tolerance, in and of itself, essentially refers to the strict law enforcement approach of get-tough on crime, public order initiatives, such as the War on Drugs that operate under the guise of order maintenance (McArdle & Erzen 2001). According to

McArdle and Erzen (2001:5), "the public-order approach is a significant reorientation of a crime-control policy that…had focused attention and resources on attacking serious crime and "diverting" relatively minor infractions from the criminal justice system."[1] In the context of schools, these school-based zero tolerance policies are the practices and procedures that result in the systematic removal of students from classrooms and schools across the United States, often for minor infractions (Heitzeg 2016; Mauer 2001; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson 2002; Wald & Losen 2003). These school-based zero tolerance policies normalize the criminalization and racialization of school misbehavior of youth of color and prematurely expose them to the criminal justice system (Heitzeg 2016; Kupchik and Monahan 2006). Studies have consistently shown that students of color are disproportionately removed from schools through suspension and expulsion (Fabeo, Thompson, Plotkin, Carmichael, Marchbanks, and Booth 2011; Losen & Skiba 2010; Raffaele-Mendez & Knoff 2003; Peguero, Popp, & Shekarkhar 2014; Richart et al. 2003; Skiba et al. 2002; Wald & Losen 2003). In fact, Fowler and colleagues (2010) posit that students as young as six years of age are given tickets that result in fines and mandated court appearances for school related misbehavior (Murry 2014). This constant use of the courts and criminal justice system for school misbehavior may help reinforce the idea that people of color are inherently deviant (Mora & Christianakis 2013). In

[1] Republished with the permission of New York University Press, from "Zero Tolerance: Quality of Life and the New Police Brutality in New York City", Andrea McArdle and Tanya Erzen, First Edition, and 2001; permission conveyed through Copyright Clearance Center, Inc."

addition, the mere existence of these punitive policies may impact students' feelings toward school and punishment outcomes.

Utilizing data from the Howard Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study (KLAMS), the purpose of this dissertation is to expound on prior studies by analyzing the effects of race and gender on punishment outcomes in school and subsequently how early punishment influences feelings about school and later punishment. Prior research investigates punishment by quantitatively exploring racial disparities or by providing qualitative narratives explaining how and why inequalities exist (Hoffman 2014; Rocque & Paternoster 2011; Losen & Skiba 2010; Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeir and Valentine 2009; Hinojosa 2008; Raffaele-Mendez & Knoff 2003; Skiba et al. 2002; Wald & Losen 2003). Few studies have quantitatively measured race and gender together using an intersectionality approach (Crenshaw, Ocen and Nanda 2015). Additionally, at the time of this writing, no study has examined race, gender, the intersection of race and gender, in-school punishment, feelings toward school, and later punishment. I intend to expound on prior punishment studies by conducting such a test. More specifically, the purpose of this project is to examine the following research questions:

- What is the relationship between race and gender in in-school punishment outcomes? How does early punishment impact feelings about school and the schooling process? More important, how do feelings toward school impact short term and long term punishment outcomes?

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

History and Origins of Punishment

Punishment is a multi-dimensional concept as it has a variety of definitions that vary from time to time, culture to culture, and discipline to discipline (Garland, 1991; Garland 1990). Colvin (1997) posits that punishment is a direct response to violating established societal norms and increasing crime rates. As such, the response to crime by virtue of punishment has philosophical roots grounded in our moral and religious convictions. Therefore, criminal activity is a moral offense akin to a sin and punishment is a necessary requirement in order to correct that sin. Although this premise holds merit, he postulates that the wealthy's ability to escape punishment is a sheer contradiction to our moral convictions on crime and punishment. For these reasons, he questions the notion that punishment is just a reaction to crime and it is solely reserved for criminal activity. Instead, he maintains that punishment has retributive origins.

The retributive argument is the most widely held view in that it implies that society has a right to punish in order to right a wrong in an effort to restore balance within a community (Brooks 2003; Murphy 1979). Thus, they posit, its premise is theoretically grounded in Biblical and moral philosophies. Scholars argue that this notion of moral law emerges in the form "an eye for an eye" or duties for justice (Scheid 1983). According to this principle, failing to use punishment threatens the fabric in which a society exists and would dishonor that person as a human being. Punishment

gives authority to the social contract, social norms, and social laws within a given community (Merle 2000; Scheid 1983). More important, they contend, punishment is thought to be necessary in order to draw vast distinctions between criminality and "normative" behaviors. Thus, Kant's (1998) philosophy of retributive justice postulates that there must be a social value attached to punishment to the degree that it enhances the social contract and social laws within society. He posits that individuals embrace moral laws out of necessity, on behalf of the social group, and on behalf of their own self-interests. Consequently, he contends, violators of social laws are not only harming other individuals or their worldly possessions, but rather, they are also dishonoring and disrespecting the state. Therefore, in order to understand retributive justice, we have to figure out what motivates human behavior which is briefly outlined in the utilitarian viewpoint.

According to the utilitarian view of punishment, the justification of punishment has moral, legal, and political philosophies in that its application is justified by the positive consequences associated with it (Primoratz 1989). Primoratz (1989) argues that punishment can act as both a remedy and a mechanism of cathartic release for victims of criminal acts by allowing them to divert their attention away from their criminal victimization. This consequence of punishment is of particular importance here since it discourages victims from acting on impulse or retaliating against their perpetrator(s). Therefore, he posits that punishment is a deterrent and has an educative and medicinal value attached to it, in addition, to providing and maintaining social order. Bentham (1907), on the other hand, postulated that punishment can have a reformative value

attached to it in that it influences individuals to give up his/her asocial behaviors to become prosocial. Hence, punishment provides some type of utility to society and it provides some measure of happiness to the perpetrators and victims of criminal offenses. Though Bentham (1907) thought the utility of punishment was important, he believed that punishment should be effective and efficient and should serve some general purpose other than retribution. Therefore, in order for punishment to work, it should not be too excessive in nature if other measures would work just as well. He also posited that punishing the innocent is a direct contradiction of utility, for it threatens the fabric of a society and the basic principles of the utilitarian view.

Beccaria (1983) on the other hand, believed punishment was necessary to maintain the social contract, meaning people were at liberty to act and behave however they saw fit to benefit themselves or others. He argued that in order for the criminal justice system to work properly, punished should not be a long process, but rather, little time should lapse between the crime and ultimately the measure of punishment. He believed that there should be no question of a person's innocence before punishment; therefore, guilt should be known without a cast of doubt. He believed that the confines of punishment should be balanced, meaning it should not be too lenient or severe in its application. Beccaria argued that there should be a sanitized version of punishment as opposed to a barbaric or bloody scene and it should be like a carnival affair so it could serve as a reminder to others in society. He also vehemently opposed the idea of using capital punishment as a mode of crime prevention. Instead, he thought that punishment as a standardized practice, would be the ideal crime deterrent.

Although the debate on punishment and its purpose as a crime deterrent continues, some scholars argue that the threat or idea of punishment is to maintain social order, to enforce social institutions and the social contract thereby providing social security to the entire community (Colvin 1997). Garland (1991) asserts that punishment may actually be best understood as a complex social invention, specifically a social institution. He contends that punishment as a social institution is comprised of both social and historical philosophies, cultural meanings, and social consequences; therefore, this explanation of punishment (i.e., social institution) captures the social reality of life. More important, although a social institution embodies a multi-dimensional framework, it does not dismiss the contributions of punishment perspectives centered on crime control models or criminal law (Garland 1991).

Durkheim (1964a), argued that criminal law and the application of punishment reinforce the integration of moral obligations and social norms as a part of the group's collective conscience and social solidarity. Crime, he contended, is a natural part of life within any given society and punishment is a natural response to social and criminal misconduct. Punishment, he asserted, is an instrument of order maintenance within a given society and it regulates human behavior. In addition, he posited that punishment is a necessity within a society because it clearly distinguishes between prosocial and asocial individuals (i.e., deviants or societal misfits). It also established a sense of community and created a system of values within a particular society. Although Durkheim (1964b) posited that moral bankruptcy may be associated with deviance and formal regulation, he omitted the premise that certain groups of people create and shape

the laws that impact society. Instead, he argued that immigration, migration, industrialization, and social dysfunction create a state of anomie. This state of anomie disrupts "normal" societies and punishment is used as a tool for reestablishing a normal social state.

In contrast to the many scholars before him, Foucault's (1995) approach to the justification of punishment has less to do with maintaining social norms and more to do with power. He argues that punishment is a complex social invention, governed by political tactics, the technology of power, and the soul and body of man. He contends that as society evolves, so does its social control mechanisms. Colvin (1997) postulates that punishment for those in positions of authority is an instrument of manipulation and total control of the central and internal personhood of an individual as opposed to the body of an individual. Thus, punishment is about crushing the soul of a person, while preserving the physical body of a person. In doing so, power is maintained in the hands of a select few. Ferri (1968:100) lamented, "It is this blind worship of punishment which is to blame for the spectacle which we witness in every modern country, the spectacle that legislators neglect the rules of social hygiene, and wake up with a start when some form of crime becomes acute, and that they know of no better remedy than an intensification of punishment meted out by the penal code."[2] In other words, this obsessive yet standardized practice for dealing with social problems with punishment is

[2] "Causes of Criminal Behavior" from *The Positive School of Criminology: Three Lectures by Enrico Ferri* edited by Stanley E. Grupp, © 1968. Reprinted by permission of the University of Pittsburgh Press.

injurious to humanity; and it is responsible for the breakdown of social and family institutions in America and other developed countries. Although, Ferri (1968) eloquently explains the moral and material consequences of punishment, he shies away from discussions on the nexus between punishment and power.

Marx and Engels' built on the power perspective by being the first scholars to accent that punishment is closely related to economics and systems of oppression, even though they did not focus on racial oppression (Gasper 2005). According to Marx and Engels (1978), there is an unequal distribution of wealth and power in capitalistic societies, and as a result, there are two classes of people. These classes of people include the bourgeois (the wealthy) and the proletariat (the working class), and capitalistic societies are ultimately created and shaped by the wealthy individuals. They posited that the working class was often threatened by a system that they have completely no control over. Therefore, punishment is a form of regulation for the upper class to control the poor, the underemployed, and unemployed in order for the power to remain in the hands of the wealthy who define crime and create laws.

Simon (2007) argues that crime and subsequently punishment has become a central component by which people are controlled and surveilled in society; and as such, it has transformed democracy in America. From the educational standpoint, he contends that the interconnectedness of schools and the justice system ultimately erode the education process by reducing creative thinking and innovation since more efforts are placed into controlling student behaviors and policing schools. Zero tolerance, to no avail, and accountability have become the norm in American school systems (Kupchik &

Monahan 2006; Simon 2007). Policing in schools has resulted in parallels being drawn between schools and prisons (Devine 1996; Farmer 2010; Giroux 2003). As such, crime has become a mechanism of social control and punishment has been deemed an ideal prescription for addressing minority youth misbehavior (Alexander 2010; Simon 2007). However, it appears that this control of youth populations while in school is highly racialized since the behaviors and actions of minority youths are often viewed as threatening, deviant, and criminal (Farmer 2010; Peak 2015; Rios 2006). Thus, punishment in schools has become racialized in a sense and has earned the school-to-prison pipeline moniker (Alexander 2010; Heitzeg 2016; Peak 2015; Rios 2006).

Racial Disparities in School Punishment

According to Heitzeg (2016), the school-to-prison pipeline consists of the zero tolerance policies, practices, and procedures that racialize classroom disruption and misbehavior by criminalizing youth. These policies, she contends, are a direct extension of the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, The Safe Schools Act of 1999, and the 1998 amendment to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act. They are also a result of legislation such as the signing of the Gun Free Schools Act of 1994 and other programs encouraging the removal of students from schools and encouraging the presence of law enforcement officers on school campuses (Heitzeg 2016; Simon 2007).

According to the Omnibus Crime and Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968, this act was established in order to achieve the following goals: (1) safeguard communities from crime, (2) maintain a fair and impartial justice system, and (3) increase the

functioning, efficiency, and effectiveness of criminal justice systems and all of its entities and for other practical and unspecified objectives (Federal Communications Commission 2017). The Safe Schools Act of 1999 is an amendment to the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994 (Heitzeg 2016). This congressional act mandates that any student in possession of an illegal substance, contraband, or a weapon on or near an institution of learning funded by the government must be formally removed from school grounds by either suspension or expulsion (Congress 2017).

Additionally, the 1998 Omnibus Crime and Control and Safe Streets Act is an extension of the 1968 Safe Schools and Safe Streets Act; and this act called for an increase of law enforcement presence on school campuses (U.S. Government Publishing Office 2017). On the surface, these legislative and congressional policies are designed to keep communities and schools safe (Alexander 2010; McArdle & Erzen 2001); however, in practice, the enforcement of these said policies have changed the landscape of American public schools (Devine 1996; Kupchik & Monahan 2006; Simon 2007). Above all, these government policies in conjunction with zero tolerance school-based policies have resulted in the systematic removal of students of color from schools and ultimately place youth of color on the pathway to prison (Hall & Karanxha 2012; Heitzeg 2016; Simon 2007).

The research literature demonstrates that students of color are disproportionately removed from schools through suspension and expulsion (Fabeo et al. 2011; Losen & Skiba 2010; Raffaele-Mendez & Knoff 2003; Peguero, Popp, & Shekarkhar 2014; Richart, Brooks, & Solers 2003; Skiba et al. 2002; Wald & Losen 2003). For instance,

Hoffman (2014) finds that African American students are more likely to be expelled from school compared to their white counterparts, regardless of the size of the minority student population within that institution. African American students are also expelled longer than their white counterparts and there are no schools in which white students are expelled at a higher rate than students of color (Hoffman 2014).

Hirschfield (2008) examines the ways in which public school systems are increasingly utilizing punitive zero tolerance policies in order to address student rule violations. In an effort to improve upon previous theoretical research on school criminalization, he examines the structural and legal components of society in order to demonstrate how these factors influence the creation and implementation of punitive school policies. The author posits that these policies often result in African American and Hispanic students being punished more severely and thus removed from the classroom. As a result of these students being removed from the classroom, he contends that they are more likely to be funneled into the criminal justice system. Thus, in this article, he observes how schools mirror the communities that students reside in on a daily basis. In essence, this means that some school systems and a bulk of its student population may be subjected to abject poverty conditions (i.e., a lagging economy, high unemployment rates, underfunded schools public school systems, and mass incarceration), all of which inadvertently change how schools operate. Additionally, he posits that these factors influence school personnel and their perceptions about the student population, their perceptions of student misbehavior, and ultimately their reaction to student misbehavior in terms of recommending punitive punishments.

In a similar study, Verdugo (2002) finds that students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds and minority students are disproportionately more likely than their non-minority counterparts to be expelled or suspended from school for violating zero tolerance school-based policies. The data indicate that both African American and white students are punished in schools; however, African American males are more likely to experience in-school punishment than any other student in schools. He concludes that the severity of punishment administered to students in school varies greatly, but African American youths are still subjected to the most severe in-school punishment. For example, he postulates that African American students are often suspended and expelled for subjective infractions such as challenging authority figures or attempting to intimidate authority figures; however, their white counterparts have to violate more serious infractions such as violating in-school weapons policies and drug policies in order to get a similar punishment.

As with African American students, Peguero and Shekarkhar (2011) contend zero tolerance school-based policies have resulted in Latino/a students being disproportionately subjected to punishment in schools compared to their white counterparts. Utilizing data from the Educational Longitudinal Study, they find that Latino youths are disproportionately more likely to be punished even when their behavior patterns resemble that of white male students. The data also illustrates that third generation students are punished more often than first generation students and white males. Therefore, they conclude Latino/a behavior patterns are similar to their white counterparts, but their punishment outcomes vary greatly as Latino/a students usually

experience more severe punishment. Thus, the findings indicate that Latino/a students are demonized in a similar manner as African American youths.

A similar study by Hall and Karanxha (2012) reveal that minority youth are overwhelmingly more likely than their white counterparts to be subjected to exclusionary discipline practices and more likely to experience contact with the justice system for engaging in disruptive behaviors on school grounds. Therefore, these scholars suggest that exclusionary discipline policies and practices need to be reassessed to determine whether they are operating the way they were intended in schools. They postulate that it may be in the best interest of the students and entire school community to depart from using such practices. Instead, they advocate for using alternative measures to foster safe school environments and teaching students to be good citizens.

This effort is important because according to Giroux (2003), the implementation of school-based zero tolerance policies is another form of terrorism imposed on youth from already disadvantaged backgrounds (i.e., the economically deprived, battered, and neglected). He contends that the demonization and media portrayal of minority youth often paints them in a very negative light. As a result, these youth of color, their presence, and their day-to-day actions are feared and viewed as suspicious. In essence, this negative characterization of African American and Hispanic youths not only assassinates their image, but it also inadvertently assassinates their character because they are framed as criminals, deviants, and predators. Therefore, he posits, many policy makers and school officials believe youth, in particular, minority youth should be watched and to some extent controlled while on school grounds (Giroux 2003; Murry

2014). These control mechanisms encompass youth of color being exposed to an array of surveillance devices while at school in addition to law enforcement. Hence, he contends that schools by virtue of their school-based zero tolerance policies are less likely to address student conduct issues internally, but rather they prefer to suspend or expel kids from schools in an effort to keep schools safe (Giroux 2003; Murry 2014).

However, Losen & Skiba (2010) contend that the implementation of zero tolerance policies do little to improve school safety or reduce student misbehavior. They utilize school and district level suspension data from the Elementary and Secondary Education Civil Rights Compliance Survey in order to explore school disciplinary patterns across several middle schools in America. The findings reveal that African American students are more likely than other students (white, Hispanic, Native American, and especially Asian Pacific Islanders) to be suspended from school. African American males are also more likely to be suspended compared to any other group of students. However, the data indicate that suspension rates for African American females do not lag far behind since they have the next highest suspension rates. The data show that males in each category are more likely to be suspended compared to females, but suspension rates for African American females are higher than suspension rates for white and Hispanic males.

Building on prior studies, Losen and Skiba (2010) explore not only whether disparities in punishment exist, but rather, how these disparities exist for students of color and their white counterparts. They contend that although it appears that more black youths are subjected to suspension and expulsion for school policy violations, the data

show that African American youths are not more likely to engage in disruptive behavior in school. Instead, these scholars find that both black and white students in this sample are sent to the office for punishment. However, white youths are punished for blatant school policy violations, yet their African American counterparts are often subjected to in-school punishment for subjective and perceived in-school policy violations (i.e., challenging school authorities or attempting to intimidate school officials). Heitzeg (2016) postulates that disparities in punishment for white youth may be associated with medical problems such as attention-deficit hypersensitivity disorder (ADHD). Therefore, instead of white students facing punishment, teachers and school officials use alternative methods for dealing with their misbehavior so that they can routinely escape severe punishment. However, minority youth with disabilities or similar medical problems are still punished harshly by the same teachers and school administrators. Thus, it appears that these zero tolerance school-based policies normalize bias and preferential treatment to white students in punishment outcomes.

Role of Teachers and Punishment

Skiba and colleagues (2002) find similar disparities in punishment at an urban middle school in the Midwest. More specifically, they find that African American youths are more likely than their white counterparts to be suspended and expelled from school primarily because they are more likely to be referred to the office for violating school policies compared to other students. They conclude that white students are usually subjected to in-school punishment for flagrant in-school policy violations and school related status offenses (i.e., failing to attend school or leaving school without

permission). On the other hand, African American youths, are often subjected to in-school punishment for subjective school policy violations (i.e., challenging authority or intimidating school officials). The data show that boys are also more likely to be referred to the office compared to their female counterparts, but there are key differences in the types of behavior that result in punishment for boys and girls. For instance, girls are primarily punished for violating school-related status offenses and boys are punished for all types of in-school policy violations. Thus, they conclude that disproportionate discipline primarily starts in the classroom as a result of teacher referrals. Inherent in these teacher referrals is the element of bias. Bias and prejudice only address one element of racism, but the white racial frame addresses racial framing in its entirety which I discuss in detail later.

Like Skiba and colleagues (2002), Rudd (2014) contends that implicit bias may be a contributing factor in the disparate punishment outcomes because people harbor negative feelings and attitudes about people that are not like them. Therefore, people may have a hard time relating to them. When that happens, people are less likely to be empathetic towards others. He posits that this implicit bias may influence teachers, their perceptions of students, and their expectations of students' academic abilities. He concludes that low expectations of students may result in more disciplinary action, as teachers and administrators are more likely to recommend a severe punishment for minority youth compared to their white counterparts for the same school rule violation. Hence, this notion of implicit bias downplays how pervasive and overt the white racial frame is in the framing of people of color in American society. Heitzeg (2016) postulates

that these racialized double standards are commonplace in schools with high concentrations of African American and Latino student populations primarily because white women make up the vast majority of the teacher population in American schools. Often, she contends, these teachers are new and inexperienced with limited to no contact with minority populations and limited to no multicultural competence training.

In a similar grain, Katz (1997) argues that schooling, specifically, the role of teachers and the school structure promotes crime and violence within the context of schools by negatively labeling and stereotyping Latino youth. To support this argument, she conducts an ethnographic study of students and their school experiences during 1992-1993. The data show that Asian students are highly favored and accepted by teachers, and as such, they are less likely to be disciplined for classroom misbehavior. The data illustrate that Latino youth often feel discriminated against by their teachers since classroom misbehavior and violence are associated to Latino youth because they are thought to be in gangs. More importantly, the data reveal that these youths are often blamed for the wrongdoings of others and in the event that they misbehave, their misbehavior is greatly exaggerated by school officials. For instance, a Latino student smoking a cigarette may be attributed to trying to start a fire or responding to a teacher may be viewed as a threat. Additionally, the data illustrate that even when these youths do nothing wrong, they are viewed from a negative lens by teachers and administrators. As a result of the constant mistreatment, negative stereotyping in schools, and ultimately the criminalization of Latino youth, many students leave school altogether. Leaving

school, in turn, may result in schools and their student compositions resembling those of segregated school systems.

Wald and Losen (2003) contend that the get-tough on discipline approach in public school systems has contributed greatly to re-segregation in schools since minority youths are being removed from the schools at exponential rates. As a result of their absence from school, they contend that these youths are less likely to obtain their high school diploma, perform well in the classroom, or enroll in college. More importantly, they contend, these youths are often labeled criminal. They posit that although juvenile crime rates have been on a relatively steady decline, school sanctions have increased tenfold. This increase, they contend, in zero tolerance school-based policies has resulted in African American youth being prematurely exposed to the criminal justice system. In addition, and as result of their punishment, these scholars argue that these students face a number of obstacles when they attempt to re-enter school. For example, these youths are often viewed as threats to the school community; therefore, they are usually encouraged to enroll in alternative programs or drop out altogether. This standard practice of encouraging the removal of students has long term collateral consequences on their lives, their well-being, the schooling process, and schools in general.

Collateral Consequences of Zero Tolerance Policies

A central consequence of zero tolerance policies in schools is that the resemblance between schools and prisons has become one in the same in educational institutions throughout America (Farmer 2010; Giroux 2003; Peak 2015; Simon 2007). Some scholars argue that school systems and modern day correctional institutions are

similar since youths are constantly exposed to metal detectors, strict disciplinary policies, searches and seizures, and law enforcement officials on a daily basis (Devine 1996; Farmer 2010; Peak 205). Consequently, Ayers (2001) and Porter (2015) posit the presence and overreliance on school law enforcement officials often result in young bodies of color being removed from the school system and funneled into the criminal justice system. Thus, Simon (2007) contends that the criminalization of youth in schools, development of highly authoritarian models, and the subsequent merging of the educational and penal system have undermined the educational process. Therefore, he concludes that the idea that public schools resemble prisons has less to do with Foucault's notion of power and more to do with the idea that crime is the most important and most visible problem that school administrators have to deal with on a regular basis.

Hutchinson and Pullman (2007) argue that although the protection of students in some school systems may be warranted because of high incidents of crime, many schools have gone overboard with their zero tolerance and/or expulsion policies and procedures. These authors find that these policies are overly stringent and leave little room for alternative punishments and thus the ultimate goal is social control. They assert that school administrators seem to want and have total control over the students thereby limiting their student rights and freedoms. As a result of this behavior, Hutchinson and Pullman (2007) posit that the school's hyper-policing may actually hinder a student's learning, growth, and development processes in a variety of ways. One reason the learning process may be hindered is because school systems may invest in maintaining their policies. Therefore, they posit money usually reserved for student educational

programs or extracurricular activities is funneled into maintaining security systems, metal detectors, and security officers. However, an additional consequence of these policies and the effort that goes into maintaining them is that disparities in school discipline have become rather commonplace.

Due to the implementation of exclusionary discipline policies and practices in school, Skiba (2013) also asserts that the consequences of these said policies have an adverse effect on learning outcomes among minority students. He postulates that African American youths have routinely been subjected to harsh in-school punishment and juvenile justice referrals, and as a result, they lose their connection with school. Therefore, he concludes that school systems by virtue of their zero tolerance policies have become so preoccupied with punishment until classroom instruction is hindered and racial oppression is reinforced on a daily basis (Murry 2014; Skiba 2013). As such, he believes that more emphasis should be placed on alternatives approaches to in-school punishment (Skiba 2013).

Moreover, Townsend (2000) contends that zero tolerance, school-based policies have impacted African American students and their ability to learn in the classroom. Thus, she argues that these disciplinary practices widen the achievement gap. Likewise, Teske and colleagues (2013) contend that schools overreliance on school-based zero tolerance policies have had more adverse effects on students and the school environment than positive effects. Case in point, they postulate that these policies have resulted in a reduction of graduation rates and there is virtually no improvement in school safety. Instead, they posit, having police on campus increase reports of crime; and since law

enforcement officials are taking on the task to regulate student behavior, the juvenile justice system is being bombarded with youth referrals. Gregory and Weinstein (2008), on the other hand, contend that these policies influence student perceptions of school officials. They find that classroom instruction and student learning is hindered tremendously when students question the motives, loyalty, sincerity, and ultimately integrity of school officials, specifically teachers.

Aside from suspended students being impacted by school-based policies, Perry and Morris (2014) argue that the use of exclusionary discipline as a mechanism of social control in schools also has long term collateral effects on non-suspended students. To support this argument, they utilize data from the Kentucky Social Discipline Study (KSDS), in order to examine how suspension effects student academic achievement. While it is assumed that having suspension-based policies are ideal for non-suspended students and the entire school community, they demonstrate that the opposite is true in this instance. For example, the data illustrate that non-suspended students' reading, comprehension, and math scores decline tremendously when exclusionary discipline patterns are standardized in schools. The data also show that support for this finding remains regardless of the school's composition and social organization and when instances of violent crime are rare occurrences in schools. They conclude that schools should introduce less punitive countermeasures such as social integration in place of excessive exclusionary policies.

The use of social integration may be useful since the hyper-criminalization and hyper-incarceration of black and Latino youth extends the criminal justice system's

reach from student homes to classrooms and their communities (Rios 2011). Crime and deviance are racialized, especially for bodies of color, in all facets of social life including the justice system (Alexander 2010; Mann 1993; Muhammad 2010). When it comes to the zero tolerance policies and student misbehavior, Lipman (2003) argues that these policies reinforce racial domination and racial oppression of marginalized populations in the labor force in a variety of ways. She contends that it appears as if these policies, by design, are created as a form of social control by use of punishment for people of color. In the case of zero tolerance school-based policies, she argues that youth of color bear the brunt of harsh disciplinary outcomes, yet their white counterparts often escape punishment which in turn creates long term consequences for students (Murry 2014).

Porter (2015) contends that these collateral consequences create a cyclical effect of crime since youths are being pushed out of schools and pushed into the prison systems prematurely. Therefore, she postulates that the school-to-prison pipeline is nothing more than a strategy to incarcerate youth of color, particularly young men, in order to make profits for prisons in the future. Thus, the driving force behind these school-based policies is not providing safety to the school environment, but rather, this standard practice of kicking students out school is in order to maintain a criminal class. As such, she advocates for eliminating zero tolerance policies in schools altogether, removing police from schools, and providing cultural training for administrators.

Likewise, Likewise, Peak (2015) calls for reform of school-based zero tolerance policies since the militarization of schools and hyper-policing of students have done

more harm than good. For example, she argues that these policies have racialized student behavior; and subsequently, they have denied students of color access to education. She contends that these policies have also created this dual system where schools and prison go hand in hand. As such, more attention is being placed on discipline and security measures until teaching and learning are not the primary focus of concern because schools are operating outside of their purview. Therefore, as opposed to simply advocating for the removal of school-based zero tolerance policies, Peak (2015) suggests that schools and communities should work together to create environments that are conducive to teaching and learning for students. More specifically, she postulates that redirecting attention to teaching and learning rather than the get-tough on discipline approach will be beneficial for all students, especially in the future.

Normalizing Stigmatization and Criminalization

Aside from this preoccupation with punishing students of color, school misbehavior has become criminalized (Alexander 2010; Farmer 2010; Rios 2006). Kupchik and Monahan (2006) contend that in the age of mass incarceration and post-industrialization, social control has become a central part of the educational process in public schools in what they term the "New American School". In fact, they argue that today's schools are under constant surveillance on campus throughout the day. As a result of this overreliance on crime control models, students are prematurely exposed to the criminal justice entities because schools and the justice system are intrinsically linked to one another. This in turn alters the relationship between students, schools, and school administrators (Kupchik & Monahan 2003; Murry 2014). As a consequence of

these policies, they contend that students have involuntary relinquished their rights to privacy, police interaction has become a standardized and routine practice, and schools have begun outsourcing disciplinary problems to criminal justice agents. They also posit that another consequence of these policies is they operate as a means of population control, especially for poor students by reinforcing existing racial and class hierarchies in America.

Farmer (2010) postulates that the link between punishment and youth crime is not a coincidence. Instead, she contends that the disparities in punishment may be a result of the relationship between youth crime, school-based zero tolerance policies, and perceptions of morality. To support her argument, she investigates the racialized moral discourse by using different selections from the media to demonstrate how racial coding informs the public imagination. For example, she uses selections from Dilulio's *Weekly Standard,* a conservative magazine, to show how black youth and criminality are framed from a moral poverty concept and how terms like "urban" and "inner city" are used to describe people of color. In other instances, she discusses how black youths are portrayed as being morally bankrupt and in need of being saved from themselves. She posits that schools also buy into moral panic by utilizing punitive zero tolerance policies and surveillance systems; and ultimately, these security measures create the image of a criminal youth. In the case of minority youth, she postulates that these policies normalize their incarceration.

As such, Rios (2006) contends that these policies demonstrate how the hyper-criminalization of black and Latino youth and their constant contact with criminal justice

system has begun to influence their mental health and emotional well-being. Moreover, he contends that negative stigma, constant surveillance, and ultimately the hyper-criminalization of minority youth have become so pervasive until they impact the way some youths perceive themselves. As opposed to fighting against the perceived stereotype, some youths act the way they believe others perceive them to behave, which may translate into them committing crime. Tannenbaum (1938) referred to this concept as the "dramatization of evil" in which individuals embrace the identity and persona (i.e., whether positive or negative) of who he/she is branded as or ascribed to be by others. Merton (1948) referred to this concept as the self-fulfilling prophecy, meaning an identity (i.e., positive or negative) may be false in the onset, but becomes true after the behavior is embraced and modeled by an individual.

Gender Disparities and Punishment

The racial disparities that exist in punishment for African Americans and Latino youths are compounded by the effects of gender (Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda 2015). According to Britton (2011:12), "The term gender…typically refers to the social and psychological attributes and behavior that individuals, social institutions, and society expect from those who are labeled female or male, and we refer to the set of traits as femininity or masculinity."[3] In the context of punishment certain behaviors are thought to be masculine and those perceptions of masculinity and femininity impact punishment outcomes (Blake et al. 2011). The sentencing literature demonstrates that when women

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commit especially heinous crimes, they are subjected to more severe forms of punishment, including death (O'Shea 1999).

In contrast, the chivalry hypothesis is the idea that women may receive preferential treatment in the criminal justice system since the majority of the people in positions of authority are male (Vito et al. 2006), and it is thought that males are socialized to protect women (Pollak 1950). The chivalry hypothesis suggests that biological determinants such as menses and other hormonal imbalances are associated with crime and deviance among women primarily because it is thought that women are not intelligent enough to engage in crime of their own volition (Anderson 2006). Instead, their participation in crime is a result of their need of adventure, naturally curious nature, and an impaired intellectual capacity, all of which make it difficult for them to abstain from crime (Heberle 1999). This hypothesis also implies that women are weak, compliant, and submissive beings that need constant reassurance and protection, and in the improbable event that a woman partakes in deviant activities that are "unbecoming of a woman," she often escapes harsh punishment (Heberle 1999; Reza 2005). In other words, women are not held fully accountable for their deviant actions and society's goal is to educate and reform them instead of executing them.

However, Britton (2011) contends that benefits of gender are not equally applicable to all women, as African American and Latino women are often subjected to more punishment. While Ferguson (2001) contends that racial and gender stereotypes shape the treatment of men, Elias and Feagin (2016) assert that similar negative stereotypes and negative imagery also shape the treatment of women of color. Young

African American girls do not appear to be exempt from this negative imagery and its impact on their everyday lives, particularly in the context of schools (Annamma et al. 2019; Blake et al. 2019; Morris 2012). Annamma and colleagues (2019) attribute the harsh discipline of black girls to social and cultural biases and stereotypes. Blake and colleagues (2011) observe that black girls may be subjected to more punitive punishment because their behavior may be viewed as unbecoming of young women and femininity in general. Flores (2016) attributes the initial negative framing and characterization of girls' perceived misbehavior to their guardians at home. This characterization of misbehavior may include but not limited to failing to help around the house, being ornery, being sexually active or promiscuous, and thwarting attacks from abuse. Thus, he contends, girls are punished harshly for not being submissive and docile beings and for engaging in behaviors and activities that are non-gender conforming.

In a more recent and rare comprehensive study of New York and Boston schools, Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda (2015) utilize focus groups and interviews in order to explore the gendered and racialized contours of punishment and its overall impact on educational attainment. They find that African American girls, like African American boys, face greater achievement gaps when compared to their white counterparts. Additionally, the data illustrate that suspension and expulsion rates for black girls are much higher than rates of other girls and some boys with the exception of black boys. Thus, they find that the effects of race are compounded by gender when it comes to punishment in schools and academic achievement.

Although criminal justice issues as they pertain to boys and men lie at the forefront of our collective minds, the life experiences of girls and women are often ignored or forgotten in those conversations (Annamma, Anyon, Joseph, Farrar, Greer, Downing, and Simmons 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015; Caton 2012). However, their life experiences and contact with the criminal justice system are equally important (Annamma et al. 2019). In an ethnographic study, Flores (2016) investigates Latino girls' contact and experiences with the American justice system. More specifically, he explores how the contours of gender, class, race, and sexuality shape girls' their life experiences across multiple social institutions. He explains these young women's struggles and strategies of desisting from the justice system after being exposed to it at an early age and being caught up in what appeared to be a never-ending cycle of hopelessness, despair, surveillance, and criminal justice detainment.

Scholars consistently argue that girls' pathways to crime, deviance, and the justice system are associated with abuse in the home (Winn 2010; Chesney Lind and Jones 2010; Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004; Schaffner 1998). Ultimately, this abuse is associated to drug use, victimization, and trauma (Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004; Schaffner 1998) as they, girls often leave home in an attempt to escape such abuses (Chesney Lind and Jones 2010; Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004; Flores 2016). Girls' responses to abuse and decisions to runaway often result in police calls (Flores 2016; Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004). Thus, some girls' early contact with the justice system comes at the hands of their family members that criminalize their modes of survival (Flores 2016) or by virtue of violating status offenses (Chesney-Lind and Shelden 2004).

While Flores (2016) contends some youths' initial contact with the system is because of their families, Shedd (2015) asserts that inner city youth may experience contact with law enforcement on a routine basis while traveling to and from school. In *Unequal City: Race, Schools, and Perceptions of Justice*, the author extends the scholarship on schools and the penal system by utilizing a mixed methods approach to explain youth life experiences in Chicago. More specifically, she explores the nexus between race, place (i.e., schools and neighborhoods), the criminal justice system, and youth perceptions. She postulates that youth develop ideas about justice and equality or the lack thereof by their interactions and observations with agents of the justice system while in school and during their journeys to and from school. As a result of their experiences, these youths relationship with the criminal justice system and its agents are forever impaired. As such, many of these youths lose respect for and develop a huge mistrust of law enforcement and the criminal justice system in general.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Research Questions

This purpose of this dissertation is to analyze the effects of race and gender on punishment outcomes in school and subsequently how early punishment influences feelings about school and later punishment. I explore three overarching questions in this research project. These questions include the following: "What is the relationship between race and gender in in-school punishment outcomes?", "How does early punishment impact feelings about school and the schooling process?" and "How do feelings toward school impact short term and long term punishment outcomes?" More specifically, I explore the relationship between racial minorities and early school punishment and how those punishments impact feelings toward school. Second, I examine the relationship between gender on early punishment and how punishment impacts feelings toward school. Finally, I explore how the relationship between race and gender on early punishment and how punishment impacts their feelings toward school. Subsequently, I explore whether these feelings toward school may impact short term punishment (school punishment and contact with the criminal justice system during high school years), and long term, overall punishment which results in arrest, police interaction, conviction, or detainment in a detention center, jail, or prison as young adults.

In order to address these research questions, I review the research literature and theoretical frameworks that provide some overview of disparities of school punishment. I pay particular attention to race and racial framing, and how they may be associated with disciplinary outcomes for students enrolled in U.S. schools. Even though, race is of particular importance, research on gender is thought to be an important area of focus in understanding school punishment and later punishment (Annamma et al. 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015; Morris 2012). However, most studies place emphasis on males as opposed to their female counterparts (Cullen & Agnew 2006; Morris 2012). In addition, traditional studies direct the vast majority of their attention to race or gender. A burgeoning of research on zero tolerance policies and the school-to-prison pipeline are exploring the linkage between the race and gender on punishment (Annamma et al. 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015; Morris 2012). Finally, the research literature on feelings is included in discussions about school since emotionality and feelings have been associated with delinquency among youth (Gottfredson & Hirschi 1990; Agnew 2005).

Theoretical Framework

Theoretical Perspectives on Race and Hypotheses

The constant reproduction of negative stigmas applied to the black body help reinforce the idea that black people are deviant (Alexander 2010; Feagin 2010; Rios 2006). Therefore, it is safe to assume that the same may be true for their offspring. In other words, the negative stigma-types applied to the black body are no longer strictly reserved for African American adults. Instead, African American youth have become the new targets of an age-old scheme of systemic oppression and racial fear mongering

(Mora & Christianakis 2013, Murry 2014). Rios (2006:41) states, "These youth do not become deviant on their 18th birthday, rather they are systematically constructed as criminals and face the wrath of the penal state and criminalization as early as 8 years of age."[4] Consequently, minority youth misbehavior has become criminalized in school settings and these youths are often subjected to rigid disciplinary punishments including but not limited to suspensions, expulsions, and criminal charges for school misbehavior.

Alexander (2010) argues that stringent policies are necessary because in order for the criminal justice system to function the way it is intended, a carefully scripted, widely circulated, and a purposefully manufactured negative stigma such as criminal must be applied to black people in general, including black youth. This criminal characterization is necessary at an early age because being criminal automatically carries with it the burden of being stigmatized by crime, deviance, delinquency, and moral bankruptcy. Thus, the term and label criminal becomes the euphemism for being young and black in America. Ultimately, this negative stigmatization of youth of color has resulted in the hyper-criminalization of minority youth in the context of American schools (Alexander 2010; Rios 2006). As a result, their behaviors are thought to be more deviant, threatening, and sinister than their white counterparts (Rios 2006). Thus, youths of color have an assaulting presence (Alexander 2010; Feagin 2010; Rios 2006). Schools have

[4] This excerpt was originally published in the "Souls: A Critical Journal of Black Politics, Culture, and Society 8(2):40-54" (Rios 2006, 41) and is used with the permission of the Taylor and Francis Group.

responded to this hyper-criminalization of students of color by almost modeling themselves after prisons (Farmer 2010; Kupchik & Monahan 2006: Peak 2015).

More important, I argue that these school-based zero tolerance policies may be a result of systemic racism and racial framing. Feagin (2006) postulates that systemic racism is the foundational, hierarchal system of oppression in the United States that are embedded in all of the major institutions and dominant and subordinate culture. He contends that this system of oppression has existed for centuries and is reinforced by virtue of the white racial frame. Additionally, this system of oppression has been created and reinforced since 1787 by the United States Constitution and legal system overwhelmingly by elite white men. This white-created and white-normed legal system is key to the context of our current legal system. Its basic operational structure, laws, and norms have had only a little input from Americans of color. Instead, Alexander (2010) posits that people of color have become the primary targets of the legal system in what she refers to as the rebirth of Jim Crow in modern day America. This rebirthing of Jim Crow and mass incarceration intersects with and informs other spheres of social life such as the school-to-prison pipeline by virtue of zero tolerance school-based policies.

The white racial frame is of particular importance in understanding the use and implementation of zero tolerance school-based policies. Feagin (2010:ix) operationalizes the white racial frame as “The broad, persisting, and dominant racial frame that has rationalized racial oppression...a centuries old worldview and has constantly involved a racial construction of reality by white and other Americans, an emotion laden construction process that shapes everyday relationships and institutions in fundamental

and racist ways."[5] Thus, this theory demonstrates that racism is inescapable in America—it is at the core of this nation's very existence. It also illustrates the exploitative and discriminatory practices of systemic racism, specifically the way it operates and manifests itself in everyday life. The white racial frame in the context of the school-to-prison pipeline and zero tolerance policies demonstrates how racial stereotypes, images, and narratives may lead to negative labeling of minority youth in school settings. Ultimately, this labeling may result in discriminatory practices in the distribution of punishment for school misbehavior.

Additionally, the broad white racial frame is selected here because it illustrates how racial framing is embedded in educational institutions, specifically in its school-based policies and the population of youths most often targeted. This is important because education has always been a cornerstone of maintaining some semblance of social order within society (Grenfell & James, 1998; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). According to Grenfell and James's (1998:10) interpretation of Bourdieu's scholarship, "Education is a part of culture. Culture in this context refers to the world of knowledge, ideas, and objects, which are products of human activity"[6]. They identify two modes of traditions linked to culture—structural tradition and functionalist tradition. From a structural traditional approach, these scholars describe "…culture as an instrument of

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communication and knowledge, as a structure made up of signs based on shared consensus of world meaning" (11). On the other hand, the functional tradition contends that "human knowledge is the product of the social infrastructure: material relations are organized along class and economic lines" (11).[7] Hence, from the functional tradition viewpoint, education is not only a mechanism for communicating ideas but rather it is a tool for reproducing and maintaining social class and economic structures within a given society.

Similarly, Bowles and Gintis (1976:11) posit that "Schools foster legitimate inequality through the ostensibly meritocratic manner by which they promote and reward students and allocate them to distinct positions in the occupational hierarchy." These scholars state "schools create and reinforce patterns of social class, racial and sexual identification among students which allow them to relate "properly" to their eventual standing in the hierarchy of authority and status in the production process." Thus, they maintain "schools create a surplus of skilled labor…"[8] This process in turn results in school systems that are constantly reproducing racial hierarchies in which white people are thought to be dominant. Nonetheless, individuals that do not fully conform are often labeled deviant, violent, or a threat to the school community. Therefore, when I think of

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[8] From *Schooling in Capitalist America* by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, copyright © 1977. Reprinted by permission of Basic Books, an imprint of Perseus Books, LLC, a subsidiary of Hachette Book Group, Inc.

the school-to-prison pipeline and the traditional goals of education, it seems counterproductive. The primary goals of schooling are to train the youth in the way of the dominant group as well as train them to be skilled workers (Grenfell & James 1998). However, if students are often removed from school systems, then it is impossible for them to fully conform to the dominant group's culture and norms. In addition, if they are subjected to social control, it is virtually impossible for them to work in society by virtue of the negative label attached to them and their records (Lipman 2003). This may be especially true for youth of color who are entangled in the school-to-prison pipeline and zero tolerance polices web as a result of school misbehavior.

- H1: African American and Hispanic youth experience higher rates of in-school punishment than white youth; therefore, they have higher negative feelings towards school.
    - H1a: African American and Hispanic youths are sent to the office for punishment at a higher rate than their white counterparts.
    - H1b: African American and Hispanic youths have higher rates of suspension and expulsion than their white counterparts.
    - H1c: The racial gap in punishment is larger for suspension and expulsion than for sending the student to the office for punishment.

Theoretical Perspectives on Gender and Hypotheses

Although race is one of the most visible examples of disparities in punishment, gender is also an important subject of discussion (Annamma 2019; Morris 2012). Cullen

and Agnew (2006) contend that gender is important in explaining and understanding various aspects of human behavior. Research has shown that males are punished at far greater rates in the criminal justice system than their female counterparts (Streib 2006). Despite that, Bloom and her colleagues (2004) argue that there are more than a million women held under some form of correctional supervision in the United States. However, the experiences of women have been largely ignored in the social science discourse until the emergence of the Women's Movement, especially in comparison to research conducted on men and crime (Cullen & Agnew 2006).

Scholars Adler (1975) and Simon (1975) attribute women's increased participation in crime to their increased presence in the professional workforce because they are not confined to their homes on a daily basis. Therefore, women have ample time and opportunity to engage in criminal deviance. Simon (1975) contends that much of their opportunity to engage in crime is a response to frustrations linked to inequality in the workplace. She believes that crime is their outlet and coping mechanism for their feelings of work related resentment. Thus, she concludes that crime rates among women can be reduced if equal opportunities existed in the workplace.

Coramae R. Mann (1984) postulates that the linkage between female involvement in crime and delinquency has long been discussed in relation to their life cycles, specifically their hormones during pre-menstruation and menstruation itself. Steffensmeier and Allan (1996) point to the fragility of women and strength of men as an explanation as to why women have lower rates in crime and delinquency. Messerschmidt (1993) and Miller (2001) both attribute crime linkages to the "doing gender" perspective

and the process of acting out preexisting gender roles and concepts about femininity and masculinity. In the case of juvenile delinquency, it is thought that the law has been historically used to reaffirm female roles by policing the bodies and behaviors of young women (Chesney-Lind & Shelden 2004; Daly & Tonry 1997). Bloom and her colleagues (2004) attribute women's increased role in crime to the changing public policies in the United States. Similarly, Mauer and Chesney-Lind (2002), Shannon and Uggen (2014), and the National Research Council (2014) agree that policy changes have contributed to the rise of incarceration in general.

Garland (2001) contends that these changes have become so pervasive until prisons have become nothing more than incubators of social control for a disproportionate segment of the African American population. Western (2006) agrees with Garland's sentiments and he postulates that the life histories and life trajectories of African American males are shaped by their constant interaction and involvement with the American justice system, its law enforcement agents, and each of its entities such as courts, jails, prisons, and other programs. As such, boys of color also appear to be targets of the criminal justice system, in their neighborhoods, and in their schools (Rios 2011).

- H2: Male youths experience a higher rate of in-school punishment than female youths and have higher negative feelings towards school.
    - H2a: Male youths are sent to the office for punishment at a higher rate than their female counterparts.
    - H2b: Male youths have higher rates of suspension and expulsion than their female counterparts.

Theoretical Perspectives on the Intersection of Race and Gender and Hypothesis

While race and gender have often been studied separately in many research studies, they intersect with one another (Annamma et al. 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015). Scholars have argued that race and gender are important in disparate punishment outcomes in school (Annamma et al. 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015; Morris 2012). A study by Raffaele-Mendez and Knoff (2003) finds that African American youths regardless of gender are more likely to be suspended from school than any other group of students in Florida school districts. However, the data reveals that African American males, on the other hand, are more likely to be suspended in all school violation categories than African American females and all white and Hispanic students. Heitzeg (2016) contends that these racial disparities exist even when youths of color have a documented disability.

Morris (2012) attributes these disparities in punishment to negative stereotypes and the fear of African American males; however, she contends that African American females are also punished at exponential rates. African American females, she argues, are more likely to be punished for engaging in behaviors that are unbecoming of young women. For example, she posits, as opposed to being suspended or expelled for violence, African American females may be removed from the classroom for using profanity or dressing in a provocative manner. Skiba and his colleagues (2002) posit that African American males are removed from the classroom regularly, often times, for subjective behavioral violations. Thus, I explore the extent to which race and gender intersect with one another in in-school punishment and later punishment.

- H3: The difference in the rate of in-school punishment between boys and girls is higher for African American youth when compared to youth of other races.

Theoretical Perspectives on Negative Feelings and Hypotheses

Travis Hirschi (1969a) has long argued that child misbehavior and/or delinquency and social bonds are interrelated, meaning that the relationship youths foster with society influences their decision making processes and participation in delinquency. In his monograph, *Causes of Delinquency,* he departs from traditional studies that explore motivations of crimes and he focused almost exclusively on motivations of not engaging in crime. He argues that controls (i.e., both internal and external) and relationships to society influence youths crime participation. More specifically, he finds that having a strong connection and relationship to family, friends, and other individuals whose opinions and approvals are valued by the youths impact their participation in delinquency. He also finds that commitment to school and the learning process, involvement in extracurricular activities, and the belief in conformity and following the rules also impact delinquency outcomes. The data show that relationship to the family is especially important for youths during their teenager years primarily because at this time, youths spend more time with their social groups (Hirschi's 1969b). Despite the relationship with social groups, he postulates that the strong relationships youths foster with their families and early training influence whether they engage in good decision making practices in the absence of their families. Thus, he believes that youths who are

free of strong family connections may break laws and participate in criminal activity without being concerned about the consequences of their actions.

Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) general theory of crime builds on Hirschi's social bonding premise. They suggest that criminal activities among youths result from the absence of high self-esteem, high self-worth, and ultimately high self-control. They posit that reasoning to participate in crime can be traced back to how these youths are trained and treated in their homes during their early formal years. Therefore, if youths experience inefficient or inadequate parenting, they may have a stronger proclivity to participate in criminal activity. Thus, they contend that crime is fulfilling and gratifying in a sense as opposed to solely from the lack of social bonds to society. In addition, their research found that punishment could be used to deter crime, crime is a product of opportunity, and those who lack emotional intelligence and constraint are more likely to commit crimes. In essence, this theory addresses how impulsive personalities, weak social bonds, low self-control, and criminal opportunity increase both crime and deviance among juvenile delinquents.

Like Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), Agnew (2005) contends that the basic premise of this theory is that individuals participate in criminal activity after weighing the possible risks against the possible penalties and when their lives are ultimately in disarray. Under this premise, he posits that crime occurs when individuals have negative self-esteem and self-worth primarily because they are struggling in all other spheres of social life (i.e., home, work, and school) including having a poor support group. He argues that each sphere has the tendency to increase crime if they are viewed in a

negative light or have a negative impact. From this perspective, one can assume that if a negative experience encourages crime then a positive experience can decrease the likelihood of crime (Agnew 2005). Therefore, in the context of schools, if individuals have a positive view of themselves, intimate others such as family and peers, and the community such as school, youth may be less inclined to misbehave in school. Building on Hirschi's and Agnew's theory, I explore whether early punishment in schools create negative feelings toward school which may subsequently impact short term and long term punishment outcomes, especially for people of color.

- H4: Higher rates of in-school punishment leads to more negative feelings toward school.
- H5: Negative feelings towards school lead to higher rate of later in-school punishment and higher rate of general punishment in young adulthood.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

Sample

The Howard Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Study was first conducted in 1971 when it interviewed about half of all the seventh graders in the middle schools in the Houston Independent School District (Howard Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Survey 2016). The respondents were followed up in five follow-up interviews throughout the course of their lives. The first two follow-ups were conducted in eight and ninth grades and consisted of questions about self-feelings, deviance, and family relationships among other things. Wave four addressed questions about virtually all aspects of social life when the participants were in their twenties. Wave 5 consisted of questions pertaining to HIV/AIDS (and included a separate subsample of blood samples, termed wave 6). In Wave 7, data included information regarding their lives from 1994-98 when respondents were almost 40 years old.

In the second generation, data collection included three waves of data from the children of the original respondents. The first wave of the second generation was more comprehensive than the first wave of the first generation. Wave 1 of the second generation was surveyed from 1994-2002. A large majority of the population in this wave is younger than 19 and as young as 11. Wave 2 and Wave 3 addressed similar

questions about aspects of social life. However, Wave 2 was surveyed from 1997-1999 and it followed everyone in their mid-teens regardless of their age. Wave 3 included young adults from 2003-2008; however, T3 followed only those respondents who were 11-14 years old in T1 (Kaplan Longitudinal and Multigenerational Survey 2016).

Data Collection

For the purpose of this research project, data relevant to the parents' income are obtained from G1T7 in order to get an accurate assessment of social economic status and parental incarceration. I also include data from the second generation (G2), waves one (T1), two (T2), and three (T3) because these data are more contemporary. However, this dataset is not without its limitations. Although the first wave of the second generation dataset originally has approximately 7,519 respondents, the second and third waves are limited since only a subsample of the first wave respondents were re-interviewed. For instance, G2T2 is limited to approximately 2,224 respondents and G2T3 only has approximately 1,629 respondents. As such, missing data analyses are conducted in order to account for the attrition. The data are limited to approximately 18 years of age at G2T1 and 23 years of age in G2T2. However, there are no age restrictions for G2T3.

Additionally, the other races category is comprised of a small number of participants; therefore, these cases are excluded from the analyses. As result of the age and other races category limitations, the sample has decreased to 5960 at G2T1, 1812 at G2T2, and 1387 at G2T3. However, with the inclusion of both punishment measures in a

nested model, the sample in T2 decreases to 1806 and the sample at T3 decreases to 1375. Despite those exclusions and data limitations, I investigate the effects of race and gender on in-school punishment (T1), feelings toward school (T1), and short term punishment, meaning in school and criminal justice system punishment (T2), and long term punishment at the hands of the criminal justice system (T3) using the available samples and the measures provided below.

Measurement

I measure dependent variables related to punishment both in adolescence, late adolescence, and in young adulthood. I also measure negative school feelings in adolescence. My independent and control variables come from adolescence. Additionally, I use adolescent school punishment as a mediating factor to attempt to explain the racial differences in negative school feelings. Moreover, Table 1 provides a summary of variable descriptions, including the mean, standard deviation, and range of each variable from T1 to T3.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Wave 1 (N=5960), Wave 2 (N=1812), and Wave 3 (N=1387) Samples

	Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3	
Variables	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Parent Characteristics						
Years of formal schooling (8-18)	13.01	2.50	12.07	2.39	13.31	2.44
Ever Incarcerated	.12	—	.12	—	.09	—
Total Household Yearly Income (2-80) [a]	28.00	21.25	25.10	18.96	29.02	21.75
Child Characteristics						
Male	.50	—	.50	—	.48	—
Race/Ethnicity						
White[b]	.57	—	.48	—	.59	—
Black	.30	—	.37	—	.25	—
Hispanic	.13	—	.16	—	.16	—
Average Grades (1-10)	7.82	1.66	7.37	1.69	—	—
Age (11-26) [d]	13.51	1.89	17.86	2.16	21.93	.99
Living Arrangement [c]						
Both Parents	.69	—	.53	—	—	—
Mother	.23	—	.23	—	—	—
Father	.03	—	.03	—	—	—
Neither Parent	.04	—	.21	—	—	—
Parents Live Together	—	—	—	—	.56	—
In Adolescence & Teenage Years						
Prior Deviance (0-.60)	.05	.10	.09	.13	.03	.07
Negative School Feelings (-.72-3.14)	-.00	.75	.09	.76	-.03	.72
Sent to Office	.53	—	—	—	—	—
Suspension/Expulsion (T1)	.20	—	—	—	.12	—
Suspension/Expulsion (T2)	—	—	.22	—	—	—
In Young Adulthood						
Police Interaction	—	—	.23	—	.38	—
Arrest	—	—	—	—	.22	—
Conviction	—	—	.07	—	.13	—
Prison	—	—	.07	—	.10	—

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2 Waves 1-3.

Note : [a] Income in thousands of dollars;

[b] Reference category is white; [c] Reference category is living with both parents

[d] Ages 11-18 correspond to adolescent sample, 13-23 correspond to teenage sample, and ages 19-26 correspond to young adult sample.

[e] The sample at T2 drops to 1806 and T3 drops to 1375 with the inclusion of both punishment measures at T1 in later models.

Measurement of Dependent Variables

There are five set of dependent variables included in this study; four of those categories and their variables correspond to some aspect of punishment. The first dependent variable set is in-school punishment measured in T1 during adolescence as 1) whether the respondent has been sent to the office and 2) whether the respondent has received suspensions and expulsions. The second punishment variable category is school punishment at T2 measured similarly to the in-school punishment at T1. Third, I also measure punishment in criminal justice system at T2 and at T3 in the fourth category. Punishment by the criminal justice system includes arrest, police interaction/ involvement, conviction, or detention in a facility.

For all of the punishment variables, the respondent is asked how old they were the first time they were sanctioned, the most recent time they were sanctioned, and the last time they were sanctioned. However, punishment in this instance is measured by whether respondents have ever been sanctioned in Wave 1 and by measuring whether they have been sanctioned since Wave 1 in Wave 2 and in Wave 3. For example, being sent to the office and having experienced suspension or expulsion are the two sanctions measured in Wave 1 and each of these punishment variables are recoded into binary variables with yes or no responses (Yes=1, No=0). Punishment at T1 will also be utilized as a mediator in this study.

In Wave 2, suspensions and expulsions, police interaction/involvement, conviction, and prison sentence are measured as whether or not a respondent experienced these after Wave 1. Each variable is recoded into yes or no responses

(Yes=1, No=0). Being sent to the office is not included in Wave 2, since there was an error in the data resulting in its omission from the sample. Arrests are also not included in Wave 2 since this information is not available in my sample. Arrest, police interaction/involvement, conviction, and prison are also measured in Wave 3. Each variable in Wave 3 is initially recoded into three separate categories (i.e., no arrest=0, arrest before 18=1, and arrest after 18=2). However, in order to improve estimability in each model, each punishment variable in Wave 3 is recoded from three categories into two categories. Thus, in the final wave, punishment is also recoded into yes or no responses to denote whether or not some form of punishment (i.e., arrest, police interaction/involvement, conviction, and prison sentence) has occurred since Wave 1 (Yes=1, No=0).

Of the punishment variables, approximately, 3,146 (52.8%) of the sample were sent to the office at T1 and 1,210 (20.3%) were suspended or expelled from school at T1. In T2, roughly 393 (21.7%) were suspended or expelled from school since wave 1. Approximately, 412 (22.7%) participants were involved with police, 128 (7.1%) were convicted, and 127 (7%) went to prison at T2. Likewise, around 300 (21.6%) were arrested; 530 (38.2%) had some interaction with police; 185 (13.3%) were convicted; and 136 (9.8%) had been imprisoned at T3.

Moreover, the fifth category of the dependent variable is negative feelings toward school at T1. I measure negative feelings towards school using nine indicators measuring respondent's general feelings about school and feelings about their teachers. The first four indicators have a yes or no response: "I have never been very happy in

school?", "Are you bored in school?", "Do you feel irritable and upset about school?", and "Would you like to quit school as soon as possible?" (Yes=1, No=0). The remaining set of questions have true or false responses (True=1, False=0): "My teachers are usually not very interested in what I have to say or do.", "My teachers usually put me down.", "My teachers do not like me very much.", "By my teachers' standards, I am a failure.", and "My teachers treat good students better than poor students."

Since the negative school feelings indicators are dichotomous, I use the item response theory to create a single scale of negative self-feelings. IRT coefficients and Kuder-Richardson Reliability coefficient determine which variables are good components for school feelings and which variables to include in the final scale. Two additional variables were originally considered (1) "It is very important what my teachers think of me."; and (2) "When my teachers dislike something that I do, it bothers me very much"; however, both of these are poor indicators of negative school feelings in terms of IRT coefficients and KR20. Consequently, these two variables are removed from the final scale. As such, the following variables are good predictors of school feelings and are included in the final scale: "I have never been very happy in school?", "Are you bored in school?", "Do you feel irritable and upset about school?", and "Would you like to quit school as soon as possible?" "My teachers are usually not very interested in what I have to say or do.", "My teachers usually put me down.", "My teachers do not like me very much.", "By my teachers' standards, I am a failure.", and "My teachers treat good students better than poor students".

With the removal of poor indicators and the inclusion of only good indicators in the negative school feelings scale, the final scale KR20 coefficient increases to .63 as opposed to the initial KR20 coefficient of .48. The final polychoric principal component analysis by virtue of its eigenvalues explains the underlying relationship between observed variables and shows the number of factors to be retained in a particular scale (Tabachnick & Fidell 1996). More specifically, they measure the amount of variance in a variable with factors above 1 indicating the presence of more variance (Tabachnick & Fidell 1996). Thus, the final negative school feelings variable has a range of -.72 to 3.14 with a mean of -.00 at G2T1, .09 at G2T2, and -.03 at G2T3.

Measurement of Independent Variables

There are two explanatory variables in this study. The first explanatory variable in this study is race. Race is divided into three categories: black, white, and Hispanic. Since the "other races" category is comprised of a small number of participants, these cases are excluded from the analyses. In Wave 1, 3398 (57%) of respondents are white, 1767 (29.7%) are black, and 795 (13.3%) are Hispanic. Wave 2 is comprised of 861 (47.5%) white respondents, 661 (36.5%) black respondents, and 290 (16%) Hispanic respondents. In the final wave, white respondents account for 822 (59.2%) of the sample, black respondents account for 349 (25.1%) of the sample, and Hispanics account for 217 (15.6%) of the sample.

Gender is included in this study as the second explanatory variable. It is a dichotomous variable measured as male and female only (male=1, female=0). In Wave 1 and 2, male respondents make up roughly 2992 (50.2%) of the sample while female

respondents make up 2968 (49.8%) of the sample. In Wave 2, 907 (50.1%) are male and 905 (49.9%) are female respondents. In Wave 3, males represent 662 (47.7%) of the sample and female respondents account for the remaining 726 (52.3%).

Measurement of Control Variables

I control for age, family arrangement, parent's living together, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. Age is measured in years at G2T1, G2T2, and G2T3. The average age is 13.5 at G2T1, 17.8 at G2T2, and 21.9 at G2T3. Family arrangement measures the presence of parents in the household at time 1 and 2. Answer choices include two parents (mother and father), single parent (mother only), single parent (father only), and other (neither parent) are measured at G2T1 and G2T2**.** In T3, the parents living together variable is dichotomous and explores whether the respondents' parents still live together using yes or no responses (Yes=1, No=0). At G2T1, 4137 (69.4%) lived with both parents, 1399 (23.5%) lived with their mother, 189 (3.2%) lived with their father only, and 235 (3.9%) lived with neither parent. At G2T2, 964 (53.2%) lived with both parents, 407 (22.4%) lived their mother only, 55 (3%) lived with their father only, and 386 (21.3%) lived with neither parent. In G2T3, 774 (55.7%) of the respondents' parents still live together.

School Performance is a continuous variable comprised of the following response categories: 1=Mostly A's, 2=A's & B's, 3=A's & C's, 4=Mostly B's, 5=B's & C's, 6= Mostly C's, 7=C's & D's, 8=Mostly D's, 9=D's & F's, and 10=Mostly F's is measured at G2T1. This variable has been recoding so that higher values (10) denote the highest grades and the lowest values (1) denote the lowest and poorest school

performance. Then, grades in math, science, reading/English, and overall grades have been averaged in order to get the best cumulative estimate of grades in all subjects. The averages of the cumulative grades are 7.8 at G2T1 and 7.3 at G2T2, meaning the grades consisted of primarily B's in both samples.

Parental income in measured in U.S. dollars at G1T7 for the annual household income. Originally, respondents selected between one of fourteen different categories representing their annual income. The original coding of annual income is comprised of the following categories: 1=under 3000, 2=3000-3999, 3=4000-4999, 4=5000-5999, 5=6000-6999, 6=7000-7999, 7=8000-8999, 8=9000-14999, 9=15000-19999, 10=20000-24999, 11=25000-34999, 12=35000-49999, 13=50000-74999, and 14=75000 or more. However, the initial values have been modified and a scale measuring income using the midpoint of each category in a thousand dollars increments is created for this study. Therefore, the recoded annual income categories include the following: 1=$2000, 2=$3500, 3=$4500, 4=$5500, 5=$6500, 6=$7500, 7=$8500, 8=$12000, 9=$17500, 10=$22500, 11=$30000, 12=$42500, 13=$62500, and 14=$80000. For example, an income range of $9000-$14000 is equivalent to $12000. The average annual household income is $28000 for G2T1, $25000 at G2T2, and $29000 at G2T3.

Parental incarceration question asks, "How old were you the last time, when you went to prison, jail, or a juvenile detention center?" and is measured at G1T7. This variable has been recoded into a binary variable (1=incarcerated, 0=none/never incarcerated). Of the sample, about 707 (11.9%) of parents at G2T1, 209 (11.5%) of parents at G2T2, and 121 (8.7%) of parents at G2T3 experienced incarceration at some

time in their lives. Parental education, on the other hand, is a continuous variable measured in years in terms of completed formal education at G2T1. It includes data in reference to both the mother and father's level of education or formal years of schooling. The original mother's and father's education variables are measured separately in eleven different categories: no formal schooling, some elementary, graduated elementary, some junior high, graduated junior high, some high school, graduated high school, some college, graduated college, some post graduate education, and post graduate degree. Both mother and father's level of education are recoded into the following categories: (no formal schooling=0 years) (some elementary=3 years) (graduated elementary school=4 years) (some junior high=5 years) (graduated junior high=8 years) (some high school=9 years) (graduated high school=12 years) (some college=13 years) (graduated college=16 years) (some post graduate education=16.5 years), and (post graduate degree=18 years). The level of education for both parents are averaged together in order to get the estimate of parental education as opposed to the education level of only the interviewed parent.

For those respondents for whom we only know the education of one parent, that education is used. However, if no parental education is known in G2T1 then the education from the parental interview is used; even though, it only measures the education of one parent. As such, the average years of formal schooling for the parent in G2T1 sample is 13, in G2T2 sample it is 12, and in G2T3 sample it is 13.3.

The final control variable includes prior deviance. Prior deviance is measured in G2T1 by the following nineteen items: "took things worth between $2 and $50 that

didn't belong to you?", "took little things worth less than $2 that didn't belong to you?", "got angry and broke things?", "carried a razor, a switch blade or gun?", "sold marijuana, grass or hashish?", "sold narcotic drugs, dope or heroin?", "cheated on exams?", "started a fist fight?", "took part in gang fights?", "used force to get money or valuables from another person?", "broke into and entered a home, store, or building?", "purposely damaged or destroyed public or private property that didn't belong to you?", "took things from someone else's desk or locker at school without permission?", "took a car for a ride without the owner's knowledge?", "beat up on someone who had not done anything to you?", "took things worth $50 or more that didn't belong to you?", "used alcohol on other than religious occasions?", "smoked marijuana?", and "used other illegal drugs?". I measure whether the respondent engaged in these activities within the last year, more than a year ago, or never. The Kuder-Richardson coefficient of reliability is .78. The final Principal Component Analysis for prior deviance has a range of 0-.60 with a mean of .05 at T1, .09 at T2, and .03 at T3. Of the sample, approximately, 157 (2.6%) at G2T1, 46 (2.5%) at G2T2, and 38 (2.7%) at G2T3 have been deviant.

Mediators

According to Baron and Kenny (1986), mediators explain the mechanism by which the relationship exists between two other variables. They contend that mediators are measured using four central steps. The first step to determining whether a mediating effect is present is by establishing whether the independent variable has an effect on the dependent variable when not controlling for the mediator variables. The second step entails establishing whether the independent variable affects the mediator variable. In

step three, the mediator variable has to have an effect on the dependent variable. Fourth, the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable has to decrease or disappear when controlling for the mediator variables. In this instance, race and gender may predict early punishment such as office visits and suspension and/or expulsions at T1. Punishment at T1 may increase negative feelings about school at T1. Thus, punishment might explain the relationship between gender and race and school feelings. Coincidently, early punishment at T1 may also have an impact on short term at T2 and long term punishment at T3. In other words, if we find that race and gender is related to negative school feelings, it might be that this is due, in large part, to differential rates of punishment at T1. For example, black students get punished more than white students and this might be the reason why they have more negative feelings towards school than white students.

CHAPTER V

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

In order to test the hypotheses in this project I use STATA SE 15. Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, and range) are utilized to summarize sample characteristics and its distributions (Acock 2006; Knoke, Bohrnstedt, & Mee 2002). More important, in order to estimate the preliminary relationship between the dependent variables and independent variables, I utilize Aneshensel's (2002) principles from *Theory Based, Data Analysis for Social Sciences*. According to Aneshensel (2002) conducting bivariate analysis is a crucial initial step in the data analysis process because it allows one to determine whether or not estimations of association are present. Thus, bivariate analyses measure the strength of association (Acock 2006) and the magnitude of the relationship between the variables (Knoke et. al 2002). As such, bivariate analysis methods such as chi square test of association, correlations, T-tests, and analysis of variance are used as needed in this study.

Moreover, a series of tests for reliability and validity are utilized in this study in order to make certain questions adequately measure the concepts used in the study. This, in turn, reduces measurement error. According to Netemeyer, Bearden, and Sharma (2003), reliability by virtue of internal consistency is an ideal way to test for interrelatedness and consistency in the data. Cronbach alpha has been lauded as the primary method for examining internal consistency and reliability of variables in a scale (Adamson & Prion 2013; Netemeyer et al. 2003; Cronbach 1951). This statistic is

important because Cronbach alpha quantifies the relationship between the variables with values ranging from 0 to 1 (Adamson & Prion 2013; Vaske, Beaman, and Sponarski 2017). Therefore, in this instance, I use Cronbach's alpha in STATA in order to examine how academic performance, specifically grades and mother and father's education are correlated with one another. On the other hand, the Kuder Richardson reliability coefficient is used for scale creation when the indicators are dichotomous variables (Adamson & Prion 2013; Cortina 1993).

To fully test my hypotheses, I employ a series of regression models. For instance, simple linear regression estimated with Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) is the preferred method when there is a continuous dependent variable in which there can be an infinite possibility for numbers, regardless of whether they are positive or negative (Treiman 2009). In this instance, the feelings toward school variable has been converted from multiple binary variables into a single scale; therefore, simple linear regression is the appropriate method for this portion of the analysis.

According to Long and Freese (2006), regression models with binary outcomes are the basis for more complex regression models. Thus, binary logistic regression analyses are ideal when the dependent variable is dichotomous meaning the variable has two categories 0 and 1, and the range of those values do not go outside of 0 and 1 (Kleinbaum & Klein 2010; Menard 2010). In this instance, each punishment dependent variable has been converted into a binary variable (for example, called into office or not; suspended or expelled or not; arrested or not; etc.).

To test whether the explanatory variables have an effect over and above the control variables, I use nested regression models. According to Acock (2006: 238), "Nested regression is used where we have blocks of variables we want to enter in a sequence, each step adding another block."[9] Thus, each regression is nested in the previous model (Acock 2006). In other words, nested models are ideal in this study because they allow one to estimate the model with the dependent variable (i.e., punishment or negative school feelings) on control variables (i.e., age, parental incarceration, parental education, parental income, etc.) in the first block. Then, one can add the main explanatory variables (i.e., race and gender) in the last block. Using this approach allows us to explore whether race and gender influence punishment outcomes. This approach is important because it allows one to evaluate whether adding the main independent variables improves a model's fit. Case in point, if R-squared increases significantly with the introduction of the key explanatory variables, then we know that we have a good test that adequately measures the impact of race and gender on punishment outcomes (Acock 2006). Therefore, I am able to rule out spuriousness in order to make certain that the relationships do not occur by chance.

Finally, interaction effects are also utilized in this study in order to examine the relationship between gender and race to test how and whether these factors influence punishment outcomes in school and at the hands of the criminal justice system at T1 and T2. According to Jaccard (2011:9), "An interaction effect is said to exist when the effect

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[9] This sentence was originally published in "A Gentle Introduction to Stata" (Acock 2006, 238) and is used with the permission of StataCorp and the authors.

of an independent variable on a dependent variable differs depending on the value of a third variable, commonly called a moderator variable."[10] For example, the effect of race on being suspended or expelled from school may vary for a black male student versus a white or Hispanic male student. In this instance, suspension or expulsion is the dependent variable, race is the independent variable, the combined race and gender variable is the moderator variable. Subsequently, moderators also operate in the same grain as independent variables (Baron & Kenny 1986). The inclusion of a moderator variable is important because as Baron and Kenny (1986:1174) state, "a moderator… affects the direction and/or strength of the relation between an independent or predictor variable and a dependent or criterion variable."[11]

[10] This sentence was originally published in "Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences: Interaction Effects in Logistic Regression" (Jaccard, 2011, 9) and is used with the permission of SAGE Publications.

[11] This excerpt was originally published in the "Journal of Personality and Social Psychology" (Baron and Kenny 1986, 1174) and is used with the permission of the American Psychological Association.

CHAPTER VI

RESULTS

Findings in Adolescence at T1

In T1, I hypothesized that minority youths are more likely to experience in-school punishment than whites (H1) and male youths are more likely to experience in-school punishment than female youths (H2); therefore, they have higher negative feelings toward school. To test this, I estimate binary logistic regression and linear regression models with OLS estimates controlling for age, living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. The results outlined in Table 2, Model 1 illustrate that the log odds of being called to the office are .38 higher for black students compared to white students ($p<.001$). For Hispanics, the log odds of being called to the office are .27 lower than the odds for white students ($p<.01$). Additionally, Table 2, Model 4 shows that the log odds of being suspended or expelled from school are 1.43 higher for black students compared to white students ($p<.001$). The log odds of being suspended or expelled is .47 higher for Hispanic students compared to white students ($p<.001$). In other words, black students experience higher rates of school punishment (i.e., both being called to office and suspensions) than white students. Hispanic students are less likely to have been called to office, but are more likely to have received suspensions than white students.

Similarly, Table 2, Model 1 reveals the log odds of being sent to the office is 1.16 higher for males compared to females ($p<.001$). The log odds of suspension and

expulsions is .84 is higher for males compared to females ($p<.001$). Thus, male students are more likely to receive school punishment than female students. Thus, the first part of hypotheses H1 and H2 is supported. In regard to the second part of the hypotheses, school punishment does increase negative school feelings. Case in point, Model 3 illustrates that being sent to the office at T1 increases negative feelings toward school by .16 ($p<.001$). Being suspended or expelled at T1 increases negative feelings toward school by .06 ($p<.05$). Hence, in-school punishment does increase one's negative school feelings.

Looking at the disparity in negative school feelings outlined in Model 6, however, white students have .11 higher negative school feelings than black students ($p<.001$) and .08 higher negative school feelings than Hispanic students ($p<.01$) on the scale of -.72 to 3.14. Gender is not significant; therefore, males and females have about the same level of negative school feelings. Hence, white students have more negative school feelings than minority students while there is no difference in negative feelings towards school between male and female students. While school punishment does increase one's negative feelings towards school, it does not make minority students feel more negative towards school than white students. Similarly, school punishment does increase one's negative feelings toward school, but it does not make male students feel more negative towards school than female students. Hence, the second part of the hypotheses H1 and H2 is not supported.

Table 2: Binary Logistic Regression and Linear Regression with OLS Estimates: In-School Punishment and School Feelings (N=5960)

VARIABLES	Office Visit	Negative School Feelings		Suspension	Negative School Feelings	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Parent Characteristics						
Years of formal schooling	-.04**	.00	.00	-.07***	.00	.01
Ever Incarcerated	.19+	.04	.03	.41***	.03	.03
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.01**	-.00	-.00
Child Characteristics In Adolescence (T1)						
Male	1.16***	.02	-.02	.84***	.01	-.02
Race [a]						
Black	.38***	-.08***	-.10***	1.43***	-.10***	-.11***
Hispanic	-.27**	-.09**	-.08**	.47***	-.09***	-.08**
Cumulative Grades	-.24***	-.11***	-.11***	-.25***	-.11***	-.10***
Age	.05*	-.00	-.01	.14***	-.01	-.01
Living Arrangement [b]						
Mother	.24**	-.01	-.02	.27**	-.01	-.02
Father	.21	.03	.03	.63***	.03	.02
Neither Parent	.26	-.07	-.08	.38*	-.08+	-.08+
Prior Deviance	9.69***	1.97***	1.81***	5.76***	1.88***	1.77***
Sent to Office			.16***			.15***
Suspensions					.10***	.06*
Constant	.75+	.81***	.71***	-2.01***	.80***	.71***
LR Chi2	1611.72***			1608.39***		
Model F-statistic		100.50***	99.07***		94.20***	92.37***
Degrees of Freedom	12	12	13	12	13	14
R-squared		.17	.18		.17	.18
Change in Model F-statistic			68.23***		15.61***	57.03***
Degrees of Freedom			1		1	1

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2 Wave 1.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Note: [a] reference category is white. [b] reference category is both parents.

In T1, I hypothesized that the difference in the rate of in-school punishment between boys and girls is higher for African American youth when compared to youth of other races (H3). To test this, I estimate binary logistic regression models predicting whether or not one has been sent to office and whether one has received suspensions or expulsions controlling for age, living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. The first models (Model 1 and Model 3 in Table 3) include all main effects, subsequent models (Models 2 and 4 in Table 3) add the interaction effects between gender and race.

For being sent to office, both the interaction effect between gender and black and gender and Hispanic are significant in Model 2. This means that the gender differences in being sent to office vary between races. Model 1 shows us that black students have .38 higher log odds of being sent to office than white students ($p<.001$) while Hispanic students have .27 lower odds of being sent to office than white students ($p<.01$).

In Model 2, with the inclusion of the interaction effects, the interpretation of the main effects change. Based on Model 2, being black increases the log odds of being sent to the office by .62 for girls ($p<.001$), but it does not increase the odds of being sent to the office for boys ($p<.30$; coefficient is .11, summative of .62 and -.51).

In contrast, being Hispanic does not affect the odds of being sent to office for girls (-.07; p>.10), but it does decrease the odds of being sent to office for boys by -.46 (p<.001; summative; -.07 and -.39*).

To further understand the interaction effect, I calculate the predicted probabilities of being sent to office using Long and Freese's (2014) spost13 and mtable commands after running a binary logistic regression model with interaction terms. The marginal effects in Figure 1 show that on average the predicted probability of being sent to office is .36 for a white female, .51 for a black female, and .34 for a comparable Hispanic female. Similarly, the figure shows that the predicted probability of being sent to office is .69 for a white male, .71 for a black male, and .58 for a Hispanic male. The difference in the rate of being sent to office between boys and girls for African Americans is .20 (.71-.51), .24 for Hispanics (.58-.34), and .33 for white students (.69-.36). Thus, the difference between girls and boys is about equal among blacks and Hispanics. In contrast, the difference between boys and girls is much larger among whites. Hence, H3 is not supported in this particular instance.

Table 3: Binary Logistic Regression: Gender and Race Differences in Experiencing In-School Punishment (N=5960)

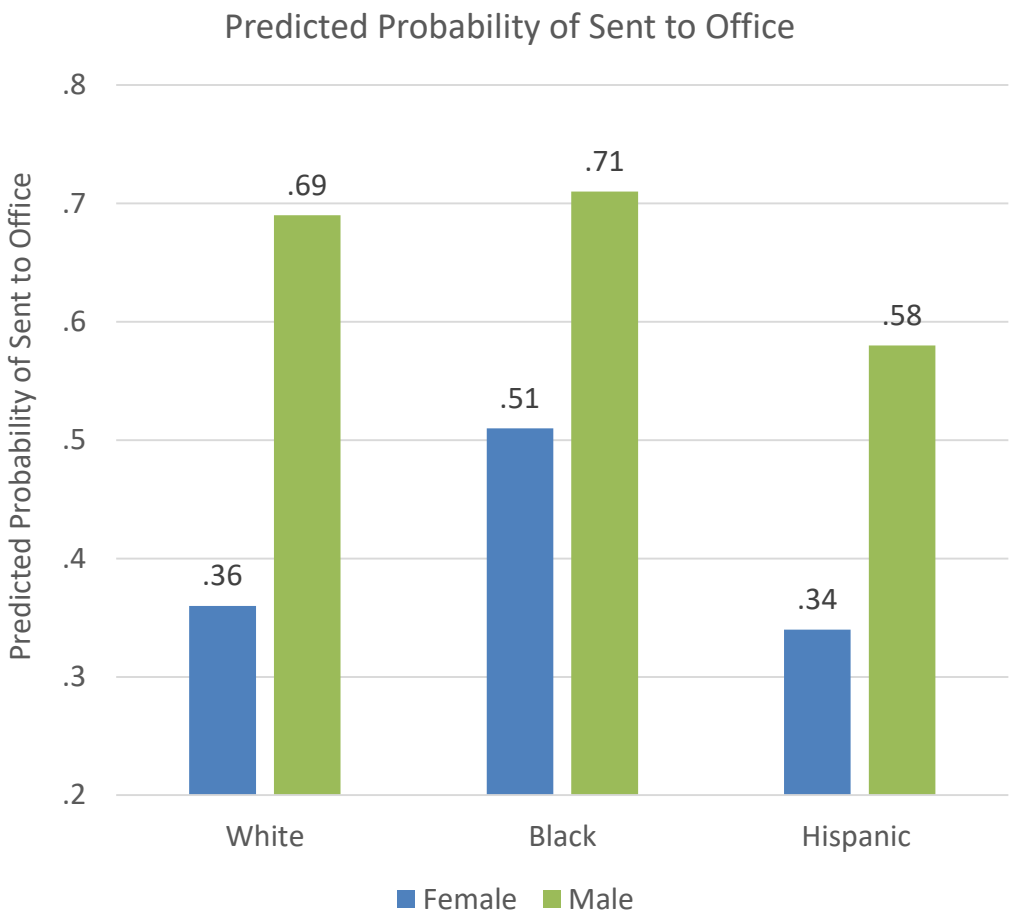
VARIABLES	Office		Suspension	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parent Characteristics				
Years of formal schooling	-.04**	-.04**	-.07***	-.07***
Ever Incarcerated	.19+	.19+	.41***	.41***
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00	-.01**	-.01**
Child Characteristics				
Male	1.16***	1.37***	.84***	1.13***
Race [a]				
Black	.38***	.62***	1.43***	1.27***
Hispanic	-.27**	-.07	.47***	.74***
Cumulative Grades	-.24***	-.24***	-.25***	-.26***
Age	.05**	.05**	.14***	.14***
Living Arrangement [b]				
Mother	.24**	.24**	.27**	.28**
Father	.22	.22	.63***	.62***
Neither Parent	.26	.27	.38*	.39*
Prior Deviance	9.69***	9.65***	5.76***	5.75***
Interaction Effects				
Black X Male		-.51***		-.45*
Hispanic X Male		-.39*		-.39
Constant	.75+	.68+	-2.01***	-2.20***
LR Chi2	1611.72***	1627.55***	1608.39***	1615.15***
Degrees of Freedom	12	14	12	14
Wald Chi2 for change in model		15.87***		6.62*
Degrees of Freedom		2		2

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2, Wave 1

*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10

Note: [a] reference category is white; [b] reference category is both parents.

Figure 1: Predicted Probability of Sent to Office at T1



Note: Calculated based on the results in Table 3, Model 2.

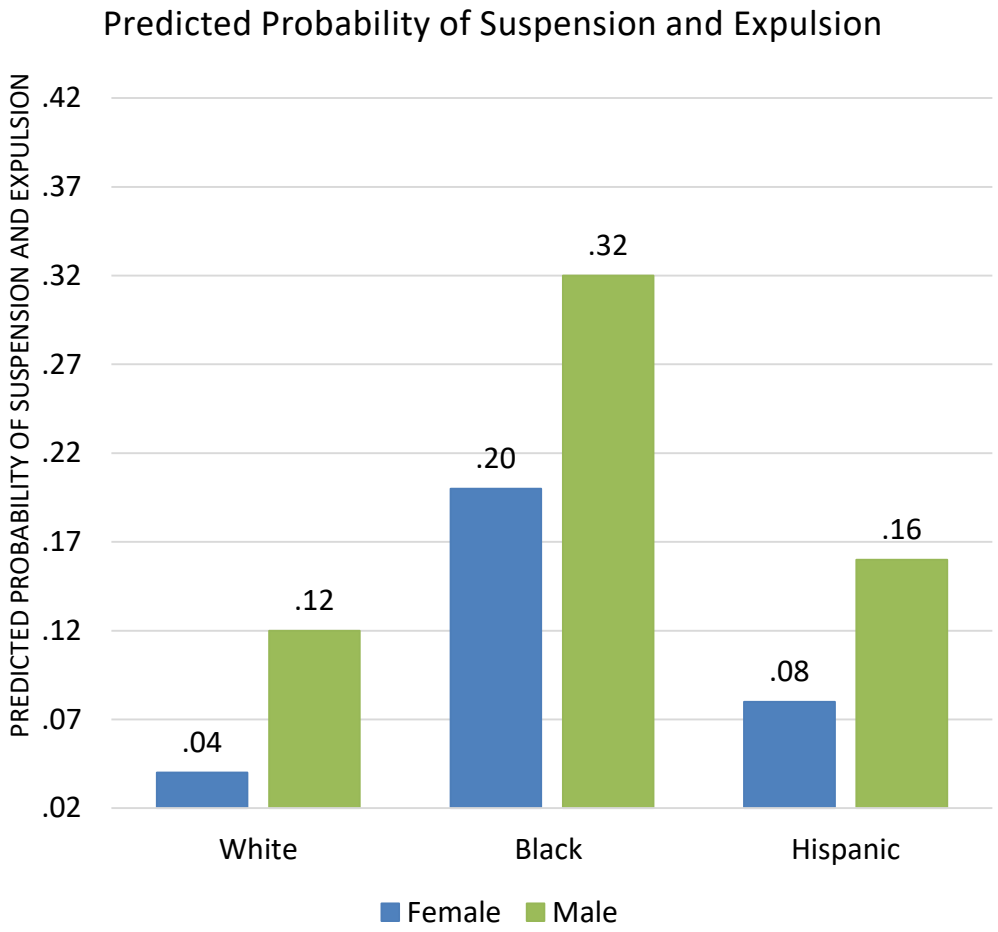
For suspension and expulsion in T1, the interaction effect between gender and black is also significant (see Model 4 in Table 3). However, the interaction effect for gender and Hispanic is not significant in this model. This means that the gender differences in suspension and expulsion vary between African Americans and whites, but not between Hispanics and whites. Model 3 shows us that black students have 1.43

higher log odds of suspension and expulsion than white students (p<.001) while Hispanic students have .47 higher log odds of suspension and expulsion than white students (p<.001). Based on Model 4, being black increases the log odds of being suspended or expelled by 1.27 for girls (p<.001), but only by .82 for boys (p<.05; summative of 1.27 and -.45). Being Hispanic increases the odds of being suspended or expelled in the same manner for boys and for girls.

To further understand the interaction effect, I calculate the predicted probabilities of being suspended or expelled from school at T1 using Long and Freese's (2014) mtable and spost13 commands after running a binary logistic regression model with interaction terms. I predicted the probabilities of being suspended or expelled from school based on race and gender. The marginal effects in Figure 2 shows that on average, the predicted probability of being suspended or expelled is .04 for a white female, .20 for a black female and .08 for a comparable Hispanic female.

Similarly, the predicted probability of being suspended or expelled is .12 for a white male, .32 for a black male, and .16 for a Hispanic male. The difference in the rate between boys and girls is .12 for black students (.32 -.20). For Hispanics, the difference in the rate between boys and girls is .08 (.16 -.08). For whites, the difference in the rate of punishment for boys and girls is .08 (.12 -.04). I found that black boys and black girls are suspended and expelled from school more than white and Hispanic students. Thus, black girls are even punished at a higher rate than white and Hispanic males. Thus, the difference between boys and girls is larger among black students whereas the difference is equal for white and Hispanic students. H3 is supported in this instance.

Figure 2: Predicted Probability of Suspension/Expulsion at T1



Note: Calculated based on the results in Table 3, Model 4.

Findings in Teenage Years at T2

In T2, similarly to adolescence in T1, I hypothesized that African American and Hispanic youth experience higher rates of in-school punishment than white youth (H1) and male youths experience a higher rate of in-school punishment than female youths (H2); therefore, they have higher negative feelings towards school. To test this,

I estimate binary logistic regression controlling for age, living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. The first model (Model 1 in Table 4) includes all main effects predicting being suspended or expelled and the subsequent model (Model 2 in Table 4) adds the interaction effects between gender and race. Also, in this model, there is only one in-school punishment (i.e., suspension and expulsion) at T2.

The results in the first model (Model 1, Table 4) reveal that the log odds of black youth being suspended/expelled at T2 are .47 higher compared to white youth ($p<.01$). However, Hispanic youth has the same log odds of being suspended/expelled than white youth. The log odds of male youth being suspended or expelled are .77 higher compared to female youth ($p<.001$). Simply put, African American youth experience more suspensions and expulsions than their white counterparts, while Hispanic youth has the same level of suspensions and expulsions than white students. Male students are more likely to be suspended or expelled than their female counterparts. Moreover, since it is not possible for future suspensions and expulsions to affect past negative feelings, I cannot use T2 suspensions and expulsions to predict T1 negative school feelings in this model.

For being suspended or expelled at T2, the interaction effect between gender and black is not significant, but the effect between gender and Hispanic is marginally significant. (Model 1, Table 4) shows that black students have .47 higher log odds of being suspended or expelled from school ($p<.01$). Hispanic students have the same odds of being suspended or expelled from school than white students ($p>.05$). However, because the interaction effects between gender and race are not significant, we can conclude that the difference between young men and women in terms of likelihood of being suspended or expelled is the same for all races.

Similarly, being male increases the log odds of being suspended or expelled by .77 compared to females ($p<.001$). Model 2 shows that being Hispanic for girls does not increase their log odds of being suspended or expelled (-.30, $p>.10$). However, being Hispanic and male increases the log odds of suspension and expulsion by .40 ($p<.10$), meaning it is marginally significant. However, being black affects males and females in the same manner on likelihood of being suspended and expelled at T2. Being Hispanic and male has a miniscule difference on suspension and expulsion at T2.

Table 4: Binary Logistic Regression: Gender and Race Interaction Effects Predicting T2 In-School Punishment (N=1,812)

VARIABLES	T2 Suspensions	
	(1)	(2)
Parent Characteristics		
Years of formal schooling	-.08**	-.08**
Ever Incarcerated	.45*	.45
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00
Child Characteristics		
Male	.77***	.49*
Race		
Black [a]	.47**	.20
Hispanic	.15	-.30
Cumulative Grades	-.32***	-.32***
Age	-.43***	-.43
Living Arrangement [b]		
Mother	.31+	-.32+
Father	.56+	.58
Neither Parent	.56**	.57**
Prior Deviance	3.18***	3.16***
Interaction Effects		
Black X Male		.42
Hispanic X Male		.70+
Constant	8.30***	8.51***
LR chi square	335.33***	339.45
Degrees of Freedom	12	14
Wald chi2 for change of model		4.10
Degrees of Freedom		2

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2, Waves 1 and 2.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Note: [a] reference category is white; [b] reference category is both parents

In T2, I hypothesized that negative feelings towards school in adolescence lead to higher rate of later in-school punishment and higher rate of general punishment in young adulthood (H5). To test this, I estimate binary logistic regression models predicting (1) whether or not one has received suspensions or expulsions and (2) whether or not one has had police contact/interaction controlling for age, living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. The first models (Model 1 and Model 3 in Table 5) include all main effects, subsequent models (Model 2 and Model 4 in Table 5) add in-school punishment at T1.

Table 5 provided below, shows that the log odds of being suspended or expelled from school at T2 are .50 higher for black youth compared to white youth when we do not control for early in-school punishment ($P<.001$). However, once we control for early in-school punishment, the log odds of being suspended or expelled from school at T2 are only .29 higher for black youth compared to white youth, and this result is only marginally significant ($p<.10$). Thus, there is pretty much no difference in suspensions at T2 between black and white youth after controlling for early differences in punishment (in this model): the racial differences in suspensions and expulsions at T2 vanish. This also means that the racial differences in later in-school punishment (see Model 1 in Table 5) come from the different rate of in-school punishment in adolescence.

Hispanic youth, on the other hand, had the same likelihood of suspensions and expulsions as white students both in adolescence and in T2 ($p>.10$). There are also differences in police contact, but that difference in police contact is in the opposite direction from what is hypothesized. For instance, the log odds of black youth having contact with the police is .33 lower compared to white youth ($p<.05$). Likewise, the log odds of Hispanic youth having contact with the police is .35 lower compared to white youth ($p<.10$). This finding may be likely due to the wording of the question—police contact for any reason. As such, it is also possible that this finding shows that blacks and Hispanics are more likely to avoid police than whites.

Table 5 (Model 2) also shows that the log odds of being suspended or expelled are .62 higher for male youth compared to female youth ($p<.001$). Additionally, it shows that negative feelings toward school affect school punishment at T2. For every one unit increase in negative school feelings (on the scale from -.72 to 3.14) the log odds of being suspended/expelled increase by .21 ($p<.05$).

Table 5: Binary Logistic Regression: Later In-School and General Punishment (Police Interaction) at T2 (N=1806)

VARIABLES	T2 Suspension		T2 Police Interaction	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parent Characteristics				
Years of formal schooling	-.08*	-.07*	.01	.02
Ever Incarcerated	.44+	.34+	.18	.13
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00	-.01*	-.01*
Child Characteristics				
Male	.77***	.62***	.54***	.48***
Race [a]				
Black	.49**	.29+	-.23+	-.33*
Hispanic	.19	.16	-.31+	-.35*
Cumulative Grades	-.29***	-.26***	-.13***	-.11**
Age	-.43***	-.47***	-.11**	-.12**
Living arrangement [b]				
Mother	.30+	.29+	.06	.05
Father	.54	.53	.01	-.00
Neither Parent	.58**	.58	-.06	-.06
Prior Deviance	2.87***	2.07***	1.24**	.90+
Office Visit (T1)		.48**		.09
Suspension (T1)		.73***		.38*
Negative School Feelings	.21*	.21*	.06	.05
Constant	8.12***	8.16***	1.36+	1.28+
LR chi square	339.41***	379.57***	84.41***	92.86***
Degrees of Freedom	13	15	13	15
Wald chi2 Change in model fit		39.21***		8.51*
Degrees of Freedom		2		2

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2, Waves 1 and 2.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Note: [a] reference category is white; [b] reference category is living with both parents.

Moreover, in T2, I hypothesized that negative feelings towards school in adolescence lead to higher rate of general punishment in young adulthood (H5). To test this, I estimate binary logistic regression models predicting (1) whether or not one has received a conviction and (2) whether or not one was sentenced to prison controlling for age, living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. The first models (Model 1 and Model 3 in Table 6) include all main effects, subsequent models (Model 2 and Model 4 in Table 6) add in-school punishment (i.e., sent to office and suspension and expulsion) at T1 and negative school feelings at T1.

Table 6 below shows that there are also no racial differences in convictions or rates of imprisonment based on this data. The data below illustrate that the log odds of being sent to prison are .86 higher for male youth compared to female youth ($p<.001$). Additionally, it shows that negative feelings toward school do not affect conviction or imprisonment at T2. But being expelled or suspended at T1 does increase one's log odds of being imprisoned at T2 by .60 ($p<.05$).

Table 6: Binary Logistic Regression: Punishment by Conviction and Prison Sentence at T2 (N=1806)

VARIABLES	T2 Conviction		T2 Prison	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parent Characteristics				
Years of formal schooling	-.02	-.02	-.01	.01
Ever Incarcerated	.27	.24	.41	.35
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00	-.01	-.01
Child Characteristics				
Male	1.03***	.95***	.97***	.86***
Race [a]				
Black	.15	.14	.14	-.01
Hispanic	.14	.18	-.48	-.54
Cumulative Grades	-.21**	-.17**	-.20**	-.17**
Age	-.04	-.05	-.03	-.05**
Living Arrangement [b]				
Mother	.05	.03	.70**	.67**
Father	.16	.13	-.23	-.26
Neither Parent	.54*	.55*	.65*	.65*
Prior Deviance	3.20 **	2.64***	3.00***	2.46***
Office Visit (T1)		.49+		.19
Suspension (T1)		.14		.60*
Negative School Feelings		.16		.04
Constant	-1.38***	-1.85***	-1.81	-2.09+
LR chi square	122.18***	128.35***	124.14***	132.95***
Degrees of Freedom	12	15	12	15
Wald chi2 for change in model		5.90		8.74*
Degrees of Freedom		3		3

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2 Waves 1-2.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Note: [a] reference category is white; [b] reference category is living with both parents.

Findings in Young Adulthood at T3

In T3, I hypothesized that negative feelings towards school lead to higher rate of general punishment in young adulthood. To test this, I estimate binary logistic regression

models predicting whether or not one has been arrested and whether or not one has had police contact/interaction controlling for age, parents' living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance. The first models (Model 1 and 3 in Table 7) include all main effects and subsequent models (Model 2 and 4 in Table 7) add in-school punishment at T1 and negative school feelings at T1. However, Table 7 indicates that negative school feelings are not significant in the model; therefore, negative feelings toward school do not lead to higher rates of arrests or police interaction in young adulthood.

The results in Table 7, Model 2 reveal that the log odds of blacks being arrested at T3 are .45 lower compared to white youth ($p<.001$). However, Hispanic youth have the same odds of being arrested than white youth ($p>.05$). Additionally, the log odds of male youth being arrested are .85 higher for male youth compared to female youth ($p<.001$). Hence, I found that whites experience more arrests than their black counterparts, while there is no difference in arrests for Hispanics. Males are also more likely to be arrested than their female counterparts. Lastly, I found that being suspended or expelled from school at T1 increases the log odds of being arrested in T3 by .37 ($p<.10$). And, being sent to the office at T1 increases the log odds of being arrested in T3 by .62 ($p<.001$).

For police interaction or contact, the data reveal that the log odds of blacks having police interaction at T3 are .65 lower compared to whites ($p<.001$). For Hispanics, the log odds of having police interaction is have .49 lower than for whites ($p<.01$). Additionally, the log odds of males having police interaction are .81 higher

compared to female youth (p<.001). In this sample, I found that whites experience more police interaction than blacks or Hispanics, while males are more likely to have police interaction than their female counterparts. More important, I found that early punishment does have an effect on police interaction or contact. Having been called to office at T1 does increase the log odds of police contact at young adulthood by .54 (p<.001). However, being suspended or expelled at T1, does not increase the likelihood of police contact in young adulthood.

Table 7: Binary Logistic Regression: Punishment by Arrest and Police Interaction at T3 (N=1375)

VARIABLES	T3 Arrests		T3 Police Interaction	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parental Characteristics				
Years of formal schooling	-.04	-.04	.02	.03
Ever Incarcerated	.69**	.63**	.38+	.35
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.00
Child Characteristics				
Male	1.01***	.85***	.93***	.81***
Race [a]				
Black	-.31+	-.45*	-.56***	-.65***
Hispanic	-.22	-.17	-.52**	-.49**
Age	.18**	.19**	.10+	.11+
Cumulative Grades	-.20***	-.15**	-.10*	-.07+
Parents living together	-.75***	-.76***	-.40**	-.40**
Prior Deviance	3.21***	1.71+	4.11***	3.06**
Office Visit (T1)		.62***		.54***
Suspension (T1)		.37+		.13
Negative School Feelings		.06		-.00
Constant	-3.38*	-4.26*	-2.33	-2.97
LR chi square	180.89***	203.28***	146.28***	164.86***
Degrees of Freedom	10	13	10	13
Wald chi2 for Change in Model		22.08***		18.56***
Degrees of Freedom		3		3

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2, Wave 1 and 3.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Note: [a] reference category is white

Table 8 estimates similar models as Table 7 predicting the odds of having convictions (Models 1 and 2) and predicting the odds of being imprisoned (Models 3 and 4). The first models (Model 1 and 3 in Table 8) include all main effects while subsequent models (Model 2 and 4 in Table 8) add in-school punishment at T1 and negative school feelings at T1 controlling for age, parents' living arrangement, school performance, parental income, parental incarceration, parental education, and prior deviance . The results illustrate that negative school feelings are not significant for general punishment in T3. As such, negative feelings toward school do not lead to higher rates of convictions or prison sentences in young adulthood.

Similarly, the mode1 4, shows that there are no significant racial differences in being convicted or imprisoned in young adulthood ($p>.05$). However, there are clear gender differences. The log odds of males being convicted are .98 higher compared to females ($p<.001$) and the log odds of males sentenced to prison are 1.28 higher compared to females ($p<.001$). Hence, in this sample, I found that whites' likelihood of convictions and imprisonment is about the same as for blacks or Hispanics, while males are more likely to have a conviction or be imprisoned than their female counterparts. I also found that early suspension and expulsion experience does not affect incarceration in prison or jail at T3, but it does increase convictions at T3 ($p<.01$).

Table 8: Binary Logistic Regression: Punishment by Conviction and Prison Sentence at T3 (N=1375)

VARIABLES	T3 Conviction		T3 Prison Sentence	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Parental Characteristics				
Years of formal schooling	-.03	-.03	-.14**	-.14**
Ever Incarcerated	.77**	.67**	.50+	.45
Total Household Yearly Income	-.00	-.00	-.00	-.00
Child Characteristics				
Male	1.12***	.98***	1.37***	1.28***
Race [a]				
Black	-.27	-.41+	.03	-.02
Hispanic	-.38	-.35	-.08	-.05
Age	.07	.07	.05	.05
Cumulative Grades	-.14**	-.08	-.22***	-.19**
Parents Live Together	-.63***	-.64***	-.72***	-.71**
Prior Deviance	3.71***	2.22*	3.28**	2.43*
Office Visit (T1)		.38+		.35
Suspension (T1)		.60**		.19
Negative Feelings		.13		.07
Constant	-2.24	-2.92	-.49	-.95
LR chi square	121.49***	135.97***	140.40***	144.35***
Degrees of Freedom	10	13	10	13
Wald chi2 for change in model		14.62**		3.91
Degrees of Freedom		3		3

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2 Wave 1 and 3.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10
Note: [a] reference category is white; [b] reference category is living arrangement

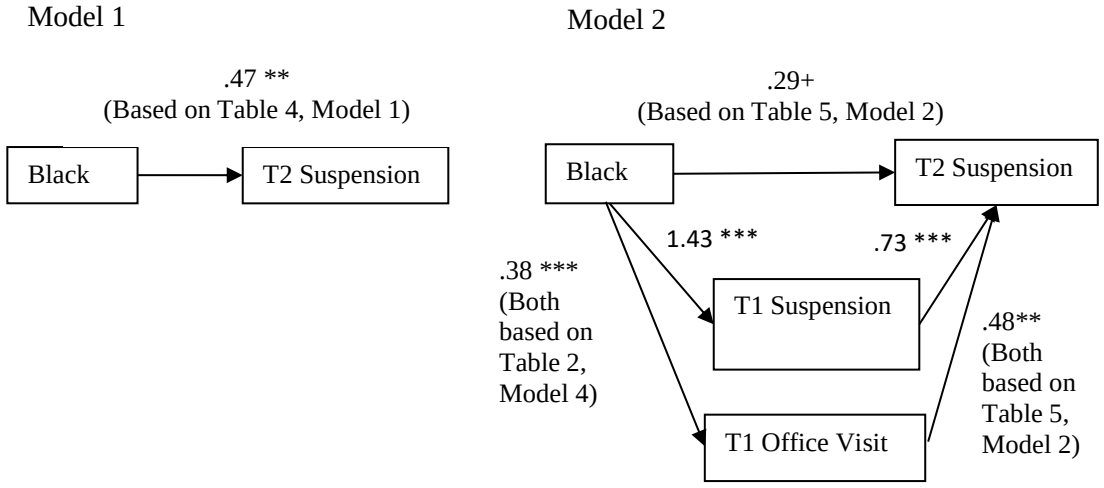
Mechanism of Racial Differences: Mediation

In order to further explain the mechanism of relationships between race, early punishment at T1, and later punishment at T2, I utilize mediation effects. Only significant mediation models are included in this section of the study or mediation models that make sense theoretically. For example, the mediation model using office visit as the dependent variable and punishment at T1 as the mediator is excluded because it does not make theoretical sense since office visit is the smaller punishment. One cannot explain this dynamic with a larger punishment because students do not get to called to office because they get suspended, but rather, students have been suspended for being called to the office. Additionally, since both punishments (i.e., office visit and suspension/expulsion) are listed here at the same time, this is not a very reliable mechanism. In other words, there is no way to tell which punishment comes first, the office visit or the suspension/expulsion because they are measured at the same time in T1. Therefore, this model is excluded from the section. Likewise, the relationship between race, suspension at T1, and police interaction is excluded in this section since this relationship does not lend itself well for a meaningful mediation. For T2 conviction, there is no mediation to explore because the original relationship between race and probability of being convicted without controlling for early punishment is not significant.

Conversely, the relationship between race, suspensions at T1, and suspensions at T2 is included in the section. Figure 3, Model 1 shows the race effect on suspensions and expulsions and Figure 3, Model 2 shows the race effect on suspensions and expulsions

controlling for T1 suspension and T1 office. Figure 3, Model 1, indicates that black students have higher rates of T2 suspensions than white students. What you see below in Figure 3, Model 2 is that most of the black and white difference in the T2 suspensions is explained by T1 suspensions and T1 office visits. In other words, black students get suspended at T2 more because they get suspended more and called to office more at T1 and this increases their chances of getting suspended at T2. This is an excellent example of how the school-to-prison pipeline operates in the context of American schools. It is almost a full mediation model; the racial difference is marginally significant once controlling for early punishment. Thus, the racial discrepancy in early school punishment explains the racial discrepancy in later school punishment.

Figure 3: Racial Difference in T2 Suspension: Mediation through T1 Suspension



Missing Data Analyses

Although the results of my analyses yielded several significant findings, in order to understand how the sample was continued in later waves, I compared those who were eligible to be included in the later wave but were not included to those who were included in the later wave. T-tests are done for continuous variables such as age, cumulative grades, household income, parental education, and prior deviance. Chi square association tests, on the other hand, are done for categorical variables such as sent to the office, suspension/expulsion, race, gender, parental incarceration, and living arrangement.

The attrition analysis results are summarized in Table 9. The two samples – those who are included in T2 and those who were eligible but were not included in T2 – are similar in terms of gender composition and in terms of parental incarceration. However, there are significant differences between these samples based on other variables. The eventual T2 sample has lower parental education ($p<.001$) and lower parental income ($p<.001$). Also, the T2 sample has a higher proportion of minority respondents than the eligible sample ($p<.001$). Only 46% of the sample in T2 is white compared to 60% in the eligible sample that were not included in T2. Additionally, the T2 sample has generally lower GPA ($p<.001$), they are more likely to live with mother only ($p<.01$), have higher level of deviance ($p<.001$), and are more likely to have received school punishment than the eligible sample that were not included in T2 ($p<.001$).

In comparison of T3 eventual sample and the sample that was eligible for T3 but was not interviewed, we see the opposite trend. While those included in T2 seem more disadvantaged than those who were not included in T2, those included in T3 seem more advantaged than those not included in T3. Those included in T3 have higher parental education and higher parental income ($p<.001$) and were less likely to have parents ever incarcerated ($p<.001$). Only 9% of those who were in T3 had parents incarcerated, while 13% of those eligible but not interviewed had parents incarcerated. There are also significant differences between nearly all of the remaining variables included in the Table 9 at T3. For example, the eventual sample was slightly younger than those in the eligible sample, 12 compared to 14 years of age ($p<.001$). In the final T3 sample, there was a higher proportion of whites than people of color than in the eligible sample ($p<.001$). For living arrangement, there is an increase in the T3 eventual sample, 75% compared to 65% live with both parents ($p<.001$) and fewer men 47% in the T3 eventual sample compared to 51% in the eligible sample ($p<.05$). The T3 eventual sample has less deviance and less suspensions and expulsions than the eligible sample ($p<.001$).

Table 9: Missing Data and Attrition Analyses for T2 and T3

VARIABLES	In T2	Eligible, but not in T2	Sig.	In T3	Eligible, but not in T3	Sig.
Parent Characteristics						
Years of formal schooling	12	13	***	13.3	12.8	***
Ever Incarcerated	12%	13%		9%	13%	***
Total Household Yearly Income	25	29	***	29	27	**
Child Characteristics						
Gender						
Male	50%	50%		47%	51%	*
Race			***			***
White	46%	60%		61%	54%	
Black	37%	30%		25%	32%	
Hispanic	16%	13%		14%	13%	
Other	1%	1%		1%	1%	
Cumulative Grades	7	8	***	8.1	7.7	***
Age	15	13	***	12	14	***
Lives with			**			***
Both	65%	69%		78%	65%	
Mother only	26%	22%		19%	25%	
Father only	3%	3%		2%	3%	
Neither	7%	5%		1%	7%	
Prior Deviance	.08	.04	***	.03	.06	***
Office Visit (T1)	63%	49%	***	47%	55%	***
Suspension (T1)	30%	17%	***	12%	24%	***

Source: KLAMS data, Generation 1, Wave 7 and Generation 2, Waves 1-3.
*** p<0.001, ** p<0.01, * p<0.05, + p<0.10

CHAPTER VII

DISCUSSION

The use and implementation of punishment has become a central part of American life (Simon 2007). This is important because the implementation of punishment has resulted in many criminal justice policies that appear to be directed towards people of color (Mann 1993). As such, zero tolerance policies in schools, most notably, the school-to-prison pipeline, remains to be a relevant topic of conversation in the general public and the social science discourse (Annamma et al. 2019, Heitzeg 2016). The research literature encompasses a variety of studies that investigate how race and gender impact punishment outcomes in school (Fabeo, Thompson, Plotkin, Carmichael, Marchbanks, and Booth 2011; Losen & Skiba 2010; Raffaele-Mendez & Knoff 2003; Peguero, Popp, & Shekarkhar 2014; Richart et al. 2003; Skiba et al. 2002; Wald & Losen 2003). In this project, I utilize theories of the sociology of punishment in order to explain how punishment has been used as a mechanism of social control and how people are governed through crime in the context of U.S. schools (Simon 2007). I explain how the negative stigma attached to the black body and how the hyper-criminalization of people of color inform the school-to-prison pipeline (Alexander 2010; Feagin 2010; Rios 2006). I draw parallels between schools and prisons and discuss collateral consequences of zero tolerance school-based policies.

By incorporating exclusionary discipline and zero tolerance policies, I investigate how in-school punishment, specifically the use of zero tolerance policies, often results in

youth of color being targets of over-policing in schools. Hence, I expound on prior punishment studies by exploring how race and gender impact in-school punishment outcomes, feelings toward school, and future punishment. This research project is comprised of three key research questions: (1) "What is the relationship between race and gender in in-school punishment outcomes?" (2) "How does early punishment impact feelings about school and the schooling process?" and (3) "How do feelings toward school impact short term and long term in-school and general punishment outcomes?"

In reference to the first research question, there is tremendous support for the hypotheses regarding the punishment of students of color (Heitzeg 2016; Losen & Skiba 2010; Raffaele-Mendez & Knoff 2003; Peguero, Popp, & Shekarkhar 2014). As expected, African American and Hispanic youths in this study do experience more in-school punishment in adolescence and in teenage years than white students. African American youths are disproportionately more likely to be sent to the office and suspended/expelled from school than white youths in both adolescence and in teenage years. However, Hispanic youths are less likely to be sent to the office for punishment than African American and white youths, but more likely to be suspended and expelled than their white counterparts. This finding is consistent with the school-to-prison pipeline literature that contends that youth of color, especially African American youth, experience more in-school punishment than white students (Fabeo, Thompson, Plotkin, Carmichael, Marchbanks, and Booth 2011; Losen & Skiba 2010; Wald & Losen 2003). Heitzeg (2016) postulates that support for this finding remains even when a student of

color has a documented disability, while Raffaele-Mendez and Knoff (2003) find that support for this hypothesis remains for youth of color as early as elementary school.

Moreover, in this study, I found that the racial disparity at T2 in in-school punishment is best explained by the disparity in T1 in-school punishment, meaning the disparity at T2 is there because of the disparity at T1. Thus, the disparity in later school years is due to disparity in earlier school years. This finding is particularly important, especially if we want to address disparities in in-school punishment because if we try to equalize things later, the disparity will remain simply because it is already there from earlier school years. Consistent with to prior research, not only are youths of color punished more, but rather they bear the brunt of the most punitive forms of punishment in school (Lipman 2003). Thus, it appears that the use and implementation of zero tolerance school-based policies reify notions of crime and deviance for youths of color at both T1 and T2 (Alexander 2010). As a result, these school-based policies appear to reproduce racial hierarchies and social class structures since African Americans are constantly targets of these policies for their misbehavior (Lipman 2003).

On the other hand, when it comes to long term punishment at T3, there is no support for the hypotheses. In this sample, there are no racial differences in long term punishment outcomes, meaning African Americans and Hispanics are not more likely to be arrested, involved/interacted with police, convicted, or sent to prison than their white counterparts. This finding for punishment is the direct opposite of findings for punishment in G2T1, G2T2, and prior research; therefore, this outcome may largely be in part because of the missing data. Conversely, in T2, there are no racial differences in

conviction and prison, but there is a significant finding for black youth and police interaction/involvement. However, the relationship for police interaction is for the reverse effect. One explanation for this finding is that the question is very weak and general in terms of asking if a respondent had anything to do with police. Thus, it can include both cases when police are suspecting an individual of a crime or when one is asking for help from the police. The latter may be more common for whites, but unfortunately, there is no way to tease this information out from each other in this data. Another explanation for this finding is that some black and Hispanic youths may partake in system avoidance. System avoidance is the practice of altering one's patterns and behaviors in order to purposefully and systematically avoid contact with entities that maintain formal records because they fear increased surveillance and being on the police's radar (Brayne 2014). This concern seems legitimate since the black body is vulnerable in America because it is regularly subjected to impartial treatment and oppression at the hands of the criminal justice system—a system that hides behind the notion of law and order maintenance (Alexander 2010).

While the discussion on racial disparities that are presented in this study yields several significant findings, the inclusion of gender as a stand-alone category and the race and gender combination are equally important here. For instance, in each analysis from T1, male youths are exponentially more likely than female youths to receive in-school punishment, whether it is being sent to the office or being suspended or expelled from school. Male youths are also more likely than female youths to be suspended or expelled at T2. The significance of gender remains for police interaction, conviction, and

imprisonment at T2 and at T3 for arrests, police interaction, conviction, and prison sentence. That is, significance for gender remained, even when other findings were in the opposite direction of the hypotheses and with the inclusion of interaction terms. Thus, gender remained significant in each analysis from each wave from T1 to T3.

In terms of race and gender, I found that black males experience more suspensions/expulsions than males of other races and black females experience more suspensions/expulsion that females of other races at G2T1. However, I found that when you disentangle with gender, then male black youths are sent to office at a similar rate as male white youths. Despite the finding regarding black males, in this study, I found that black females are suspended and expelled at a much higher rate than their white and Hispanic male counterparts. I also found that the rate of punishment of black girls quite similar to the punishment of black boys. This finding regarding black females is rarely the focus of the school-to-prison pipeline research literature, but it has been documented and supported in other research literature (Annamma et al. 2019; Crenshaw et al. 2015; Winn 2011). In fact, some scholars attribute the punishment of black females to their refusal to accept predefined roles about gender and femininity, meaning black girls may act in a manner that is considered by mostly white authorities as unbecoming of those predefined roles (Annamma et al. 2019; Blake et al. 2010). As a result, black girls are subjected to higher rates of punishment in school (Blake et al. 2010).

In terms of the second research question, there is support for the hypothesis that higher rates of in-school punishment lead to more negative feelings toward school in general. Simply put, punishment does lead to more negative feeling toward school.

However, it does not make male youths have higher negative feelings towards school in T1 or T2 than female youths. Similarly, it does not make African American and Hispanic youths feel more negative towards school than white students. In this study, I found that when African American and Hispanic youths experience early in-school punishment and later in-school punishment such as being sent to the office or being suspended or expelled, they do not harbor more negative feelings toward school than white students in T1 or T2. One explanation for this finding is that African American youth have higher feelings of self-worth and self-esteem than youth of other races (Mendoza-Denton 2012; Twenge and Crocker 2002) and this high self-esteem serves as a self-protective barrier or buffer (Crocker, Voelkl, Testa, and Major 1991). Thus, even though African American youths are being punished more severely in school for misbehavior, it is possible that their high self-esteem trickles down to other aspects of their lives and provides a buffer for overall negative feelings toward school in this instance. Therefore, in addition to measuring feelings toward school, it may be a good idea to explore student feelings in general in addition to school feelings in future studies.

Finally, in reference to the third research question, there is support for the hypothesis that negative feelings towards school lead to higher rates of later in-school punishment (T2). However, negative school feelings do not increase the rate of general punishment in teenage years (T2) or in young adulthood (T3). In particular, negative school feelings do appear to have an impact on suspensions/expulsions at T2, but negative school feelings do not lead to more interaction/involvement with police, more convictions, or prison in teenage years at T2 or in young adulthood either at T3.

CHAPTER VIII

LIMITATIONS

Although this project reveals several significant findings, this study is not without some limitations. The first limitation is that each initial question for each in-school punishment variable (office visit at T1, suspensions/expulsions at T1, suspensions/expulsions at T2) asks how old the student was when he/she did something. This question seems to automatically assume that a youth was involved in deviant behavior. Therefore, a better approach would have been to ask a series of three questions. First, the youth should have been asked if he/she was involved in one of the said behaviors mentioned above. Second, the youth should be asked at what age they were involved in the behavior(s) above. Then, each youth should be asked whether or not participation is such activities took place within the last six months, last year, or more than a year ago. Similarly, each later punishment variable (arrest, conviction, cops, and prison at T2 and T3) appears to follow the same format as the in-school punishment variables above. Instead, each question for later punishment assumes deviant behavior. The ideal approach would have been to ask whether or not one was involved in each of the described deviant behaviors mentioned above followed by the age and timing in that behavior took place.

A second limitation in the study is that the in-school punishment outcome, office visit at G2T2 is excluded from the analysis because there was a flaw in the original coding of the data. This flaw resulted in the numbers in age being over a hundred years for most participants in the study and at this time, this error has not been corrected in the

study. As a result of this flaw in this particular punishment variable, I was not allowed to conduct general and comparative analyses of later punishment at G2T2.

A third limitation in the study is that teacher and administrator data is absent from this sample of dataset. At the time of this study, only information from students and parents are included in this analysis. Having teacher and administrator data would have provided a more accurate picture and explanation of student behavior and student temperament. Additionally, it would allow researchers to explore how all youths are treated when they engage in similar behaviors and what factors motivate a teacher to write up one student for a particular behavior while choosing to not write up another one.

The fourth limitation in this study is that there are no official records for student academic performance. Instead, we rely on the honor system and trust students to accurately report their overall grades and grades in each subject. For that reason, there is no way to know whether or not grades have been inflated by the student. Teacher data would have been ideal in explaining student performance in each subject in the classroom, but the best approach would have been to obtain students' official transcripts from school.

A fifth limitation has to do with sample size. The original dataset was comprised of 7519 in G2T1, 2224 in G2T2, and 1629 G2T3. However, after the first wave, each sample is reduced tremendously. In G2T1, the final sample drops to 5960. In G2T2, the final sample drops to 1806 and in G2T3, the sample drops to 1375. This reduction in the sample size may be the cause of a research finding that is the complete opposite of prior

research and the findings in G2T1 and G2T2. A larger sample probably would have resulted in findings that were consistent with prior research. This is important because it is possible that some individuals were incarcerated at the time of questioning at G2T3, so their responses could have been excluded from the study. Therefore, perhaps it would have been beneficial if a follow up analysis would have been done several years later.

A sixth limitation of this study is that there is very poor wording on the police contact/police interaction question. This wording is problematic because both positive and negative experiences are included in a single measure and a good question would have separated those experiences. There is also vague wording on other key questions. Therefore, in the future, it may be more ideal to construct my own survey instrument and collect my own data.

The final limitation of this study is that all data are derived from youths and their parents residing in the Houston area only. Although Houston offers great diversity in the sample, it is possible that the results will vary tremendously in other parts and regions of the state of Texas such as a rural vs. urban, suburban vs. metropolitan, or a small town vs. a border town.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The extant of research literature demonstrates that there is a significant relationship between race, gender, and in-school punishment (Crenshaw, Ocen, and Nanda 2015; Losen & Skiba 2010; Peguero et al. 2014; Richart et al. 2003; Rios 2011; Rios 2006; Skiba et al. 2002; Wald & Losen 2003). Therefore, future research should continue exploring this dynamic in the social science discourse. This is important because the current study yields findings that are in line with prior research where race and gender is concerned in in-school punishment outcomes. For instance, Hispanic youths in this study are more likely to be suspended or expelled from school than white students. Similarly, I found black youths in this study are far more likely to be sent to the office for punishment and suspended or expelled from school than their white counterparts. Although, traditionally, black males seem to garner the most attention where exclusionary discipline studies are concerned (Annamma 2019; Caton 2012, Chesney-Lind 2010; Tate et al. 2014), this study highlights, the excessive punishment of black girls.

Black girls are often understudied and mentioned in passing in the research literature as it pertains to the school-to-prison pipeline (Annamma 2019; Chesney-Lind 2010; Losen & Skiba 2010; Tate et al. 2014). This all male approach to punishment is problematic since black girls are experiencing significant growth in their rates of punishment in schools in the United States (Tate et al. 2014). The results here illustrate

that, not only are black girls punished more, but rather, they are punished considerably more compared to girls of other races. In another instance in this study, black girls are punished more than white or Hispanic males. Losen and Skiba (2010) postulate that the rate of black girls being punished in school has grown steadily throughout the years with black girls experiencing the most suspensions from school compared to other students. Thus, I do not find much difference between the rate of black boys and black girls in this study being punished at school. This finding is important because it adds to the burgeoning number of studies on black girls and discipline. As such, this study highlights the need for more studies that are equally raced and gendered, meaning it underscores the need for more analyses with an intersectionality perspective. Having an intersectionality perspective that is equally raced and gendered is necessary in understanding the dynamics of the school-to-prison pipeline (Crenshaw 1989; Morgan, Salomon, Plotkin, & Cohen 2014).

Understanding the importance of having studies that are equally race and gendered is ideal; however, if one chooses to solely study race as it relates to exclusionary discipline, then it is imperative to move beyond whether race matters. In this study, it is found that race matters tremendously for black students in punishment outcomes as these youths are punished more than their white counterparts. More importantly, I found that race matters on later school punishment through early school punishment, meaning that the difference has been made already in adolescence, and the later differential in punishment is because they have already been labeled in adolescence. Alexander (2010) and Rios (2006) contend that premature negative labels lead to the

hyper-criminalization of minority youth and possibly convictions in the future. While this finding is important, at this point, our immediate attention should move past whether race matters in in-school punishment because we already know it matters and begin exploring how race matters in the disciplinary process in U.S. schools. For example, by focusing on how race matters we can investigate whether schools with a higher concentration of students of color have higher discipline rates than those with a smaller concentration of students of color. This is important because according to Blalock (1970) the mere presence of members within a minority group, particularly large numbers, threaten members within a dominant group. As such, he posits that this perceived threat and fear of minority group members encourages the dominant group to advance their political, financial, and educational supremacy across all facets of social life and social institutions (Murry 2014). Thus, conducting a study using Blalock's scholarship as a guide will demonstrate how race matters in the context of schools across districts, explore how race influences punishment for similar violations, and possibly introduce a stepping stone into revising zero tolerance school-based policies in Texas and other states.

Building on the concept of exploring how race matters in punishment outcomes, the results presented here in this analysis explore how punishment impacts one's feelings toward school, in particular negative feelings toward school. Although, negative feelings toward school do not appear to have much of impact on punishment outcomes for minority students in this study, I think it is worthwhile to explore concepts of mental health and well-being in future studies. However, I think that it is important to note that

this study does not include information regarding a student's temperament and feelings in general, but rather only included negative feelings toward school. Perhaps the inclusion of such information such as a negative self-feelings scale would have provided more insight into what is going on in the mind of young participants in the study or provide a general sense about a child's inner feelings. Even though a child's feelings toward school are important, a child's home life and community life have the potential to inform their feelings as well and all of these factors may influence punishment outcomes. Minority youths have been shown to do better compared to whites in terms of mental health (Gray-Little and Hafdahl 2000; Mendoza-Denton 2012; Twenge and Crocker 2002) and we do not yet understand why this paradox exists. Therefore, future studies on exclusionary discipline should incorporate a mental health component because in-school discipline can have many long term or short term consequences, affecting one's feelings can fall in both categories.

This is important because while the current study yields finding that is in line with prior research, it also highlights the importance of the collateral consequences of exclusionary discipline in American schools. Certainly, it is problematic for students of color to be disproportionately exposed to in-school punishment, but the collateral consequences can have effects lasting a lifetime. These consequences include both short and long term consequences such as early in-school punishment, later in-school punishment, and potential punishment later in life. Nonetheless, understanding these consequences may aid in the creation of changes in legislation in regards to Safe Schools Act of 1999 (Congress 2017) and Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1998 (U.S.

Government Publishing Office 2017) since these programs have in a sense made it mandatory to punish some youths for misbehavior. This project emphasizes the need for more oversight into school discipline, the need for a more intersectionality perspective, and a need to move past simply whether race matters, but the inclusion of more narratives are important to understanding school discipline.

Moreover, we should place more emphasis on mixed method approaches or qualitative research in future studies in order to explore how race matters in the context of in-school punishment. The reason for this is that the research literature clearly shows that students of color, particularly African American male students, are disproportionately more likely to be removed from schools (Losen & Skiba 2010; Wald & Losen 2003), but there are not a lot of qualitative studies delving into why that is the case and the current study was no exception. By using qualitative techniques, one could focus on teacher perceptions in general and their perceptions of their students. Information can be gathered on teacher backgrounds such as the following: (1) where they are from, (2) whether they reside in the community of the school in which they teach, and (3) if they have children, whether their children are attending a school in the same district in which they are teaching. This type of research focus is important because Downey and Pribesh (2004) found that white teachers, when compared to black teachers, evaluate black students and their behaviors more negatively than white students in their classrooms. Similarly, Turney and Haskins (2014) found that a teacher's perception of child proficiency may be the greatest indicator of grade retention than child behavior or test scores. In an instance like this, we really do not know what is motivating teachers to

feel this way. A qualitative approach in conjunction with quantitative analyses will allow us to delve more deeply into teacher and administrator perceptions and explore how those perceptions influence disciplinary outcomes.

Finally, we should really revisit the roles of families and communities, and investigate how they play an integral role in shaping the lives of youths. Foster and Hagan (2007) and Hagan and Foster (2012) explore the intergenerational implications of parental incarceration and they found that father's incarceration has an effect on a child's educational attainment. In other another study, they found that the effects of maternal incarceration spilled over to students with non-incarcerated parents (Hagan & Foster 2012). Moving forward, we need to extend this research, especially as it pertains to the school-to-prison pipeline. Therefore, as opposed to simply focusing on disparities in punishment, we should use a life course theory approach to understand the school-to-prison pipeline. More importantly, we should direct our attention to children of incarcerated parents. The Bureau of Justice Statistics (2013) data show that millions of people are under some form of correctional supervision, and I imagine several have children. By researching this population (children of incarcerated parents), teachers, and administrators will hold the key to dismantling the school-to-prison pipeline from within by virtue of teachers and administrators and in homes by virtue of these youths and their families.

NOTES

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